THE WHITE UMBRELLA

VASISHTHA INSTALLED RAMA UPON A GOLDEN
THRONE WROUGHT WITH JEWELS AND
SATRUGHNA PLACED A WHITE UMBRELLA OVER HIS HEAD

Rāmāyaṇa

The White Umbrella

Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi. By D. Mackenzie Brown

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Foreword

THROUGHOUT the rich heritage of Indian literature, embodied in the Sanskrit, Tamil, and other languages, there are innumerable passages illustrating every known theory of government and temporal power. But it should not be forgotten that political thought is an integral aspect of Indian philosophy and that in Gandhiji's language there is no artificial separation into political, social, and religious affairs. Except in relation to such doctrines as rebirth and Karma, the meaning of the Indian heritage and the traditional Indian approach to world problems cannot be understood.

The Moslem invasion of India put an end for a time to Hindu creative literature and political speculation. The *Śukranīti* represents a final contribution to the classics of Indian political thought. A short-lived Hindu political revival inaugurated by the Maharashtra king Shivaji during the period of Moslem ascendancy did not result in any real intellectual ferment. Moslem rule, however, did not eliminate the older habits of thinking and action. The British occupation, again, introduced a viewpoint based on Western premises and precepts, but the foundations of the Indian tradition were not swept away even by this invasion of Occidental ideas and modes of life. The writings of modern Indian leaders prove the persistence of the ideals of the classic theorists.

The "White Umbrella," which gives the title to this book, was a symbol of sovereign political authority placed over the monarch's head at the time of the coronation. The ruler so inaugurated was regarded not as a temporal autocrat but as the instrument of Dharma or supreme law—although the ancient Hindu state was not thereby a theocracy. Despite certain Machiavellian forms of diplomacy recommended with respect to international relations, such policies were considered primarily as low expedients in comparison with the high ideals of the royal Dharma.

We have here a conspicuous example of the comprehensive and sympathetic appreciation of a differing and ancient civilization. It is not easy to enter into the spirit of a distant people, but the author has perceived that political consciousness in India is based on the realization that power is ultimately vested in the people collectively. It is, however, a trust to be fulfilled and implemented by the sovereign in accordance with those doctrines of the continuity of existence and the stability of supreme law which are the foundations of all Indian thought both sacred and secular.

Professor Brown presents the central core of Indian political thought, both ancient and modern, in a well-annotated account, in which an immense amount of material has been collected, collated, and analyzed. I have no hesitation in warmly recommending *The White Umbrella* to all who wish to obtain a well-documented study illustrative of the age-long development of Indian political speculation.

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

Madras, India
11 September 1953

Preface

THIS BOOK has been written to provide the Western reader with a concise survey of Hindu political ideas. Various works have been published by Indian scholars, but these erudite studies have generally been written for Indian readers or Orientalists, and deal with rather specialized fields. Although there are several American publications on Chinese political theory, the Indian field has been largely neglected in this country. The plan of the present work is to construct a brief analysis of Indian thought together with a series of selections from the Hindu political classics.

This is not a history of the origin and development of ideas, but rather a presentation of the landmarks of the Hindu political tradition as seen by Indians themselves. No claim is made that these elements were fixed and unchanging. Such studies as Ghoshal's *History of Hindu Political Theories* and Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* have indicated a long evolution. But the ideas presented here are those which have been most persistent in historical times. There is considerable semantic controversy over the terms "Indian," "Hindu," "Hindi," etc., which is beyond the scope of this work. Although "Hindi" has been suggested as a more fitting word than "Hindu" (Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 65), the latter has become established in Western usage. In these pages (except in occasional specific context), "Hindu" is used not in the narrow sectarian sense, but

simply to indicate the main stream of Indian culture of which Buddhism, for example, is an early offshoot. The Buddhist and Jain versions of the Indian theme have roots in this heritage, but have not been dominant factors in Indian political life. The Moslem element, a comparatively late addition, is based on another culture and was never truly assimilated into the classical tradition—though its own heritage is rich and enduring, as Sherwani and others have shown. There is of course no implication that this "Hindu" tradition is or was necessarily "sound or unsound," "good or bad" for India's political and social life—now or in the distant past. There are many possible criticisms to be made of the various writings from the viewpoint of modern thought, but our purpose here is to present ideas rather than to debate issues. Such value judgments are left to the reader.

Although the studies in this volume have been based upon a wide range of sources, the bibliography is limited to English-language works cited in the text, commentaries, and notes. Detailed citations have been given with each chapter to suggest sources of additional material. These are not always of even quality, since some are given merely as examples of a particular viewpoint.

I wish to express appreciation to the following persons for courtesies and assistance in the gathering and interpretation of material: Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India; Dr. D. S. Sarma, Vivekananda College, Madras; Professor S. K. Saksena, Delhi University; Professor G. P. Malalasekera, University of Ceylon; President Gregg M. Sinclair and Professor Charles A. Moore, University of Hawaii; and Professor Fay-Cooper Cole, University

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The texts of the quoted materials selected have been followed as faithfully as seemed advisable for the purposes of this publication. Some repetitious or less pertinent material

has been omitted, but in such manner as to leave continuous and consistent passages that should fairly present the arguments of the different authors. I have occasionally departed from the existing standard translations to bring the vocabulary into conformity with modern usage. The authors, titles, and passages used of each of the quoted texts or translations are listed in the notes at the end of the volume.

A research grant from the University of California has given support to the study upon which this survey is based.

University of California
Santa Barbara College
14 April 1953

D. M. B.

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Illustrations

The drawing on the title page was made from a section of a South Indian temple fresco depicting the White Umbrella ritual at the coronation of King Rama.

Part One

ANCIENT POLITICAL THOUGHT

I

THE SOURCES

I read her history and read also a part of her abundant ancient literature and was powerfully impressed by the vigor of the thought, the clarity of the language, and the richness of the mind that lay behind it.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

ALTHOUGH THERE ARE evidences of earlier civilizations on the Indian subcontinent, the Vedic Age produced the first literature. Beginning possibly four thousand years ago, the so-called "Aryan" culture developed its distinctive social institutions and theories.[2] Our knowledge of the latter is derived primarily from the Rig-Veda, a collection of over a thousand hymns used in the rituals of religious sacrifice.

From various references in these hymns it seems that the Vedic Aryans were a pastoral people occupying much of northern India in the watersheds of the Indus and Ganges rivers, though they must have been established first in

northwest India and spread eastward toward Bengal in later stages. They worshipped a variety of gods, most popular of whom was Indra, the great warrior who aided his devotees in their struggles against rival tribes. The Aryans recognized three social classes or castes—priests, warriors, and cultivators—to which was added a fourth group of serfs consisting of non-Aryans.

Politically, the country was divided into numerous tribal principalities headed by local kings or Rajas. The rulers held positions of high prestige and authority but were restrained from arbitrary conduct by the influence of the Brahmans or priests who officiated at sacrifices, accompanied the king to battle, and interpreted the basic law or Dharma of the state. The hymns also refer to two types of popular assembly—the *sābhā* and *samiti,** the former consisting of priests and other influential persons, the latter being a general meeting of citizens presided over by the king. These groups probably had substantial advisory power in political matters. The basic organizational unit was the *grāma* or village, composed of a number of families and enjoying a degree of political autonomy under its own officials.

The Vedic Age may have ended about the middle of the first millenium B.C., by which time the earlier institutions had become well developed. The Brahmans were now extremely influential as royal advisers, and kingship was in most cases hereditary. Larger kingdoms were well established, and there were also some tribal republics or *gaṇas*. The caste system was gradually forming more rigid groups.

* For the transliteration, pronunciation, and definition of Sanskrit terms, see p. 162.

Trade, commerce, and industry had expanded and large cities were appearing. Music, drama, and other arts, together with a popular literature, were growing vigorously. Finally, the early religious concepts were evolving and a profound philosophical structure was being created.

After the Vedic period political institutions were challenged by the protestant philosophies of Jainism and Buddhism, by the rise of the great imperial systems, and by the invasions of Greeks and others. By the sixth century B.C., the Buddhists especially were questioning the validity of the sacrifice and of caste restrictions, and the authority of the Brahman priests in the functioning of the state. Two centuries later the Maurya empire began to overcome the numerous smaller states and expand its rule until it embraced most of the peninsula of India. Indo-Greek kings drove into India from the northwest, bringing Hellenistic civilization to flourish in competition with native Indic culture. But despite these impacts much of the central heritage remained. Buddhism became absorbed in later Hinduism and all but disappeared from its homeland. The great empires never quite succeeded in destroying the multiplicity of kingdoms. And in the end, India took but little of permanent meaning from Hellenism.

Historic Indian culture was well established by the third century B.C., and the political theories and institutions of the centuries which followed remained grounded in the classic concepts and practices. The descendants of the Aryans and other native peoples inheriting this Vedic cultural tradition are usually referred to as Hindus. The con-

cept "Hindu" thus includes the so-called Dravidian peoples of South India who undoubtedly made essential contributions to the Indic tradition. But since comparatively little is known of the early history and literature of southern India, emphasis has necessarily been given to the northern Aryan element.

The political ideas of the Hindus are to be found in a rich variety of sources ranging from the early Vedas to the writings of Gandhi and Tagore. But the classic theories find their most eloquent expression after the Vedic Age, for in the earliest literatures political thought is represented by occasional passages rather than by organized writings. These include such diverse materials as the sacred law books of Gautama and Manu, the historical tales of the Puranas, and the administrative manuals of Kautilya and his school. Much is reposited in religious and other writings rather than in strictly political studies. The classic works are in Sanskrit or, for most Buddhist materials, in Pali.[3] To identify, classify, and date all of the sources is a task that will absorb the energies of Indic scholars for many years.[4]

Indian political thought cannot be isolated from the main body of Hindu philosophy. In the West, we have accepted a tradition, partly Machiavellian, of a science of government which rests upon its own empirical basis. But the great works of Indian polity are, like the political dicta of Aquinas, one facet of a vast and integrated system of reasoning which poses and interprets the very problem of human existence. Gandhi speaks in the Hindu tradition when he says, "I claim that human mind or human society

is not divided into watertight compartments called social, political, and religious. All act and react upon one another."[5] On first examining such coldly realistic treatises as those of Kautilya and Sukra, we might infer that these are exceptions to the above proposition. But further consideration reveals a careful orienting of the political with the philosophical and ethical tenets of Hinduism. Even Kautilya, for instance, advises the king as follows: "Restraint of the organs of sense on which success in study and discipline depends, can be enforced by abandoning lust, anger, greed, vanity. . . .whosoever is of reverse character . . . will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters."[6]

Among the world's oldest systems of political science is that of the Hindus. Their political speculations begin at least as early as the second millenium B.C. in the Rig-Veda and are continued in other Vedic Samhitas and in the Brahmanas.[7] Such fundamental questions as the origin of the social order and the position of the ruler are raised and answered. Later, we find a series of works on law, which analyze every detail of conduct from the administration of government down to the functioning of the household. These are termed Dharmashastras or treatises on Dharma (law), the foremost of which is that of Manu.[8] At about the same time, the Arthashastra literature, dealing primarily in realistic terms with the actual art of government, was being developed—the leading work being that of Kautilya, prime minister to the founder of the great Maurya dynasty of the fourth century B.C. The Puranas or ancient historical tales, of which the epic *Mahābhārata* is the traditional precursor, also contain a rich array of political

doctrines.[9] Finally, there was a form of Arthashastra known as *nītiśāstra*, or treatises on policy. One of the best of these that has come down to us is the *Śukranīti*.[10]

The Buddhist and Jain writings, beginning in the pre-Christian era, draw much of their bases from the Hindu heritage, yet give particular support to certain democratic concepts, especially in Buddha's famous lecture on the Vajjian republic. In the Jataka tales are many versions of Buddhist political thought, generally in the Indic tradition.[11]

The Moslem invaders of the eleventh and later centuries represented a culture foreign to the Indian way of life. Although these Mohammedan conquerors were unable to modify basically the nature of Hindu theory, they were strongly impressed by Hindu ideas and practices in government and administration.[12] As one Indian scholar expresses it, "The influence of the Dharmashastras and the Arthashastras remained unspent in this [Moslem] epoch . . . at no period of our history has the influence of our ancient polity been quite moribund, and in this sense its persistence is one of the surest witnesses to the unity of Indian history."[13] The later British conquerors brought with them the English parliamentary tradition, which has been openly accepted by Independent India as the basis of its government.[14] Yet the British came as European traders, not as permanent residents, and they and other Western peoples comprise a very small fraction of the present population. In spite of the influence of Western culture in many fields, it would be rash to say that the fundamentals of the traditional Indian outlook on society have been permanently destroyed.

On this last question, the nature of the so-called Indian Renaissance casts considerable light. In the nineteenth century there arose, chiefly in the province of Bengal—where Western education under British rule had made its first progress—a succession of leaders like Vivekananda and Tagore who attempted to deal with the problems confronting India as a result of the impact of Western culture. In their brilliant and modern writings they did not lose touch with the ancient traditions of Manu and the *Mahābhārata.*

This sketch of the sources of Indian political thought has omitted specific dates. Although these are given in the separate commentaries on the selections, it may be well to attempt a general summary before proceeding. Unfortunately, we have very few definite dates in the early period of Indian history, for it was not until the Moslem conquest that a consistent historical chronology was used. Modern scholars disagree widely. The author of the *Śukranīti,* for instance, is dated all the way from the pre-Christian era to the sixteenth century.[18] The problem is further complicated in that Manu or Sukra, for example, may be taken to be either the name of a mythical, divine lawgiver of Vedic times or the pseudonym of a later compiler of the early tradition. Again, the actual manuscript which finally comes to the hand of the Sanskrit scholar may be a comparatively recent version containing spurious passages. With the above limitations in mind, we may date the main sources roughly as follows: The Vedic materials may be considered as covering the period between 2000 and 500 B.C. The Dharmashastras and Dharmasutras may be dated from 500 B.C. to as late as A.D. 500 and beyond, the existing *Manusaṁhitā*

being possibly a creation of the first or second century B.C. Although some consider the *Mahābhārata* of Vyasa to be older than the works of Manu or Kautilya, other scholars date it around the beginning of the Christian Era. The core of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya is usually placed at the beginning of the Maurya dynasty in the fourth century B.C., although it contains later materials. The *Śukranīti* is much later, as certain evidence suggests it to be a product of the thirteenth century.[16]

The most important of the various sources are the Dharmashastras, which deal primarily with basic law and political theory, and the Arthashastras and related materials, which deal with practical politics and administration.[17] Although these comprise distinct literatures, they are not antagonistic traditions, rigidly separated as to type. On the contrary, they are both rooted in the Vedic and later writings and often interrelated in subject matter and treatment. The easiest generalization is to say that the Dharmashastras offer a system of law and organization for the establishment of the Hindu state and social structure, whereas the Arthashastras provide working manuals to guide the ruler in the conduct of his daily affairs. Both are related primarily to a major aim of the Hindu concept of life, which is discussed below.[18]

The Dharmashastras are part of the large body of traditional literature included in the term Smriti, meaning "that which is remembered" and referring in a more specific sense to the law codes.[19] The term is commonly compared with Shruti, meaning literally "that which is heard," or the Vedic literature itself. Although the Shruti is theo-

retically more authoritative because of its supposedly direct "revealed" origin, the Smritis carry greatest weight in Hindu jurisprudence because of their wealth of specific detail.[20] The practical application of the Smritis is demonstrated in the elaborate rules of interpretation which were worked out under the Mimansa system of philosophy.[21] The Smriti literature is an excellent illustration of the thorough blending and mingling of the theoretical and practical, the political and philosophical in Indian thought.

A relevant question regarding the sources of Hindu political thought is, "How closely do the classical studies relate to actual historical conditions?" Do these ancient treatises merely hold up certain ideals as proper and worthy of attainment? It is difficult to give a categorical answer. Sarkar, among others, has commented specifically upon this problem.[22] Unfortunately, some modern Indian scholars have tended to reject as mere speculation what they did not wish to accept, and to label as factual other passages which refer to institutions or practices which support their present-day Westernized views of political values.[23] Much of this has been a healthy reaction to the prejudices of those Western writers who viewed the ancient texts as proof of a barbarous and uncreative political heritage for India.[24] But on the whole, we are perhaps justified in following the late E. M. Sait's dictum that thinking does not occur in a vacuum—that political theory is invariably related to actual problems and conditions and is indeed inseparable from the latter.[25]

As we have noted, traditional Indian political theory as known today is the work of northern Sanskrit writers. The contributions of southern Indian theorists, however, are

only beginning to be recognized with the gradual appreciation of the richness of southern Indian culture. The Tamil writers of this region gave considerable attention to political problems, and it may be assumed that—as Tamil culture is an integral aspect of Indian civilization—the writings of South Indian scholars are in the tradition of Indian political thought.[26] The great Tamil classic, the *Kuraḷ* of Tiruvalluvar, dealing with the general subjects of Dharma and Artha, gives in fact almost the same definition of Arthashastra as Kautilya.[27]

Generally speaking, the most creative period for Indian theory occurs, as in China and Greece, before the beginning of the Christian Era in the West. Some important landmarks such as the *Śukranīti* are considered of later date, but the main premises and principles which chart the direction of later speculation were well established in the ancient period.

The inclusion of four ancient and four modern works in this volume is based on more than considerations of symmetry and convenience. These writings constitute the great landmarks of Indian political theory. Manu's is preeminent among all the law codes. The *Śāntiparvan* is the political essence of India's greatest epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Kautilya's is the best-known example of the Arthashastra literature. And the *Śukranīti* is the last major creation of the "classic" theorists. Any selection of modern writings can be subject to dispute. But those chosen here are, I believe, among the most representative and stimulating of the modern Indian Renaissance. It might seem that contributions by such leaders as Ram Mohan Roy or statesmen

now living might have been included. However, the former, for instance, like many others, was a man of action in the political sphere rather than a writer. And it is difficult to evaluate the thought of men in the welter of politics until, like Gandhi, they have taken their place in the perspectives of history.

II

THE NATURE OF INDIAN THOUGHT

Indian thought is a chapter of the history of the human mind, full of vital meaning for us. The most ancient fancies sometimes startle us by their strikingly modern character, for insight does not depend on modernity.

SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

A SYSTEM OF political philosophy that developed through centuries of exposition, interpretation, and revision offers innumerable facets for description and analysis. But our objective here is to outline the major features to provide a background for an understanding of the political literature included in this volume.

There is general agreement among most of the theorists that the ultimate end of human endeavor is Moksha or liberation—that is, the freeing of the individual from the "bondage" of earthly existence. The concept is not identical with Christian "salvation," but the means of attainment in the social sphere are in some respects similar. As to

means: Dharma, Artha, and Kama (duty, wealth, and pleasure) are the intermediate worldly objectives which, if properly pursued, lead eventually to the highest of life's goals.[1] Hindu political thought deals with the problems of Dharma and Artha, which provide the foundations of political and social institutions, but the solution of these problems is essentially only a means toward ultimate Moksha. Gandhi, again, echoes this traditional viewpoint when he says, "I am but a humble seeker after Truth and bent upon finding it. I count no sacrifice too great for the sake of seeing God face to face. The whole of my activity, whether it may be called social, political, humanitarian, or ethical, is directed to that end."[2]

Dharma is the core concept of Hindu political theory, profound in its implications and subject to varied definition.[3] Ultimately it is more than law, for it is what underlies and creates law in the universe. Etymologically, it is derived from the root *dhṛ*, which means "to uphold, support, or be firm." It thus corresponds to Aquinas' "eternal law"—"the name given to this first law which is the source of all other laws."[4] By usage, the term is employed in many senses, scientific and common—duty, virtue, religious creed, justice, law. But from the political viewpoint it should be rather broadly defined. "The conception of Dharma was a far-reaching one embracing the whole life of man. The writers on Dharmashastra meant by Dharma not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the

gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence."

It is not surprising, therefore, that Hindu law began with duties rather than with rights, as in the West. The elaborate symbolism of deities and signs afforded a means of illustrating and emphasizing for the citizen the various obligations of the Dharma system. The sacredness of the cow, which has been a source of Hindu-Moslem friction, may, in part, have developed as a recognition of the vital role of the cow and ox in Indian agriculture and family economy—demanding therefore certain protective patterns of behavior from the population. An Indian hymn, to be recited daily by the ruler, states: "I am protecting this cow [earth] which bears the milk of the four oceans, whose calf is Dharma, and whose face is law. I shall not be patient with anyone who injures her."[9] Gandhi has said: "The central fact of Hinduism is cow protection. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind. Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives."[10] The cow is thus a symbol of the obligations of Dharma. Nehru speaks of this same theme of duty when he says: "The rights of the individual must be balanced by the obligations of the individual to the social organism. Without obligations there can be no real rights."[11]

Politics was considered the "master science," since, dealing with Dharma, it covered that vast range of human relationships that MacIver has so aptly termed "the firmament of law."[12] In this respect, Dharma is the creator of the state, and political science is more than a study of government.[13] The most significant part of the Dharma literature from

the viewpoint of the political scientist is known as the *rājadharma*, or "duty of kings," which is considered pre-eminent[14] and to contain all Dharma, thus emphasizing that the science of politics necessarily embraces the whole of society.[15] Artha, denoting utility, property, also suggests a wide range of political topics. Kautilya says, "That science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is the Arthashastra, Science of Polity."[16] But Arthashastra is itself considered to be, in the final analysis, subordinate to Dharmashastra, for, in case of conflict, the rules of the latter take theoretical precedence. This reaffirms the Dharma concept as the ultimate basis of Indian political thought.

Another fundamental of the Hindu system was that of the government as a king-priest partnership.[17] The ancient writers considered each in a sense to be the basis of the other's power, the union of the two being perfection.[18] The Brahman, however, was superior to the king as the spirit to the flesh.[19] The priest held highest caste status and was identified ceremonially with the god Brihaspati instead of with the temporal power Indra. His function was to interpret Dharma and preside over the rituals.[20] Coronation by the priest was a necessary prerequisite to the exercise of royal power. In that ceremony the *śveta-cchattra*, the White Umbrella with jeweled handle, symbolized sovereignty or political power and was held over the head of the ruler as he took his place upon the throne.[21]

It must not be assumed, however, that the ancient Hindu state was a theocracy.[22] The actual ruler was the Raja, whose caste duty was to wield power and administer punishment

(*danda*) for breaches of the Dharma.[*] He relied of course upon the learning of the Brahman for the knowledge of the Dharma, and he was enjoined by the scriptures to protect the priestly caste at all costs. The *Anugītā* states, "Kings desire piety; and Brahmans are the bridges of piety. Therefore a King should always endeavor to protect the twice born."[*] In the making of policies, the chief Brahman, or *purohita*, might act as minister in the king's administration, the famous Kautilya having served in this advisory capacity under Chandragupta Maurya.[*] Aside from the above considerations, theocratic power did not develop, because, unlike the European priesthood, the Brahmans established no church organization by which to contend for temporal power. They were therefore dependent upon the king for earthly support.[*]

Consequently monarchy was the normal form of Indian government, since ruling was a function to be exercised by a leader of the Kshatriya or warrior caste.[*] There were, as we have seen, some examples of so-called republics or *gaṇas*, and much has been made of these states by Jayaswal and others as proving a democratic tradition in India. They are mentioned in the Vedas and were notable in Buddha's time.[*] His oft-quoted advice on the Vajjians reveals the importance of these ancient deliberative assemblies: "So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline but to prosper."[*] In the same passage, however, we find an implied warning not to change the established laws and institutions and to revere and support the elders. Factions were considered a potential menace in these tribal republics, for divided rule

was generally dreaded.[30] Moreover, they were hardly democracies in the modern sense. Since participation in government was limited to higher-caste male citizens, tribal republics would be a more appropriate designation.[31] A truer democratic tradition is to be found in the Panchayats or governing councils in the Indian villages. These communities tended to be self-sufficient and to enjoy a degree of autonomy in local matters under the direction of the governing committees.[32] The village was the basic unit of Hindu society and higher government administrative divisions were based on groupings of communities.[33] Although these self-governing villages survived until modern times, the ancient republics were submerged in the great Maurya empire of the third century B.C.[34]

Hindu theories of the origin of government and the state cast light upon their legal nature and administrative purposes. In the first place, some of the early literatures elaborate a theory of man's decline reminiscent of Rousseau's account of human degeneration following the "state of nature." Mankind is said to have lived in four great ages, each progressively less virtuous, until now he lives in the most evil Kali Yuga where the guiding power of Dharma is only one-fourth of its original strength. The *Mahānirvāna Tantra* says: "Now the sinful Kali Age is upon them, when Dharma is destroyed, an Age full of evil customs and deceit."[35] Accordingly, government became necessary for the protection of the Dharma and to save men from their own evil tendencies—the state originating as a form of divine aid to struggling humanity. The *Code of Bṛhaspati* explains: "In former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of

mischievous propensities. Now that avarice and malice have taken possession of them, judicial proceedings have been established."[36]

As in the West, the government, created to meet the problems of human society, is explained by both the divinity and social contract theories. The ancient Aryan god Indra represents kingship, and he, in turn, owes his appointment to the will of Prajapati, chief of the gods.[37] The king is therefore the earthly embodiment of Indra or Danda.[38] However, he is himself bound to rule by the principles of the Dharma, and since the citizens have a corresponding duty to obey the king's edicts and support his administration, there is an implied social covenant.[39] In some sources, the contract theory is set forth more specifically. The *Mahābhārata* tells of men living in a state of social chaos who approach the god Brahma and request the appointment of a king. Brahma then suggests Manu, but Manu agrees to serve only after the people guarantee to respect his rule.[40] An early Buddhist account in the *Dīgha Nikāya* refers to a definite contract between an elected king and his people.[41] Kautilya says, "People suffering from anarchy, as illustrated in the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one, first elected Manu . . . to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues."[42]

Although some writers have stressed the popular basis of the Hindu king's sovereignty and the recognition of a right of popular resistance to tyranny, the Dharma itself was deemed to be the real restraining power over the king's office.[43] Thus the *Mahābhārata* warns: "That rash king who,

disregarding the injunctions laid down in the scriptures, acts with highhandedness in his kingdom, very soon meets with destruction."[44] Manu and others present the same theme—the tyrant destroys himself by flaunting the sacred laws of society.[45] Dharma was not only the justification for the state but its ultimate cause and support.

In general, the purpose of the Hindu state was to reinforce the moral codes of society and to insure justice among men, thereby guaranteeing the individual free opportunity to develop himself within the framework and recognized goals of his own caste Dharma.[46]

Varna—caste or class—is another basic political factor.[47] It is, of course, inseparate from the core idea of Dharma, and we have just noted that it provided the basis for Hindu monarchy. It also gave form to a concept of justice reminiscent of Plato. In the *Code of Viṣṇu* we find the king enjoined "to keep the four castes and the four orders in the practice of their several duties."[48] Each class was considered to possess distinct hereditary qualities which made its members peculiarly adapted to perform specific functions in the life of society and the state.

The four castes were not competitive but complementary. According to the Rig-Veda, they originated from the primeval god Purusha as follows: "The Brahman was his mouth, the Kshatriya formed his arms, the Vaisya his thighs, the Sudra was born from his feet."[49] The priest, then, was dedicated to learning, the warrior to ruling, the merchant to trade, and the laborer to service. This division of function permeated the whole structure of the state and qualified

the operations of the law as it was applied to the individuals of different classes.[80]

The traditional Hindu caste system has been a subject of censure and some misunderstanding in the West—appearing as an irrational denial of the principles of equality of opportunity and individual justice. But its significance to the orthodox Hindu cannot be grasped without considering the related doctrines of rebirth and Karma. Since the individual citizen is thought to be reincarnated through a series of lives, no single life is of ultimate importance. And since the circumstances and fortunes of each life are held to be the ethical consequences, or Karma, of the individual's behavior in past lives, no real injustice is theoretically involved. Furthermore, the lowest Sudra might hope by faithfully performing his caste duties, however irksome, to be someday reborn as a high-caste citizen of fortunate circumstances. And the privileged Brahman or Kshatriya must use his high position for good rather than for selfish indulgence lest his lot in a future life be that of the downtrodden. In our own day, caste divisions have been explained by the great liberal writer Tagore as India's attempt to solve her complex social and racial problems by a system of specialization and toleration that minimized the frictions of ruthless competition.[81] It is clear, certainly, that the major caste groups provided the framework of the Hindu state and made government a class function.

To this last observation, however, must be added a reservation. Although ruling was normally, in the "healthy" state, a Kshatriya prerogative, some of the early writings refer in effect to a sort of governing cycle whereby political

degeneration may result in the seizure of power by other classes according to the general condition of the state. The emphasis is not on the form of government, as in the well-known cycles of democracy and oligarchy of Plato and Aristotle. Rather, the concern is with the particular major caste group which wields power. Referring to the course of events in the present age, the ancient *Harivaṁśa* predicts that "the Kshatriyas will be disinherited of kingdoms, whereas the Sudras will be held in honor in spite of their ungodly views."[52] Other classes would in turn assume power in a continuing political cycle.[53] In modern times the dynamic Vivekananda has described Indian political development as a revolving of caste rule, one succeeding the other in the exercise of control.[54]

Most Hindu political theory nevertheless dealt with the Kshatriya ruler and his functions. These were precisely stated in the Arthashastra literature, and the details of internal administration were elaborately defined—in particular as regards those two cornerstones of modern government, personnel and finance.[55] There was also described a well-organized judicial framework with carefully developed legal procedures and different types of courts.[56]

The various administrative activities were sufficiently extensive to be termed paternalistic. Agriculture was encouraged. Travelers and the sick were given assistance. Scholars and universities were endowed.[57] The Hindu state, however, could not be called socialistic, since popular control of these activities was not established. Furthermore, the Vaisya caste was considered primarily responsible for trade and productive enterprise.

In this royal state a precise code of international relations and power diplomacy was worked out. It cannot be said to have provided a system of international law, because the concept of universal sovereignty retarded, as it did in China, the recognition of a "family of sovereign nations."[58] Each state tended to seek the extension or preservation of its security and power by a sometimes Machiavellian diplomacy or by armed force. The *maṇḍala*, or "circle of states," was the basis of diplomatic theory. Around any given state was a concentric series of unfriendly and friendly powers whose diplomatic tendencies were predetermined by geographic position. An adjoining state was a natural enemy, and the state beyond it constituted a natural friend, and for each of these categories existed a set of appropriate diplomatic precepts.[59]

These rules of diplomacy provide us with some of the most cold-blooded Machiavellian realism in the history of political theory, as may be noted from the selections in this volume.[60] Such policies, however, were considered proper only in times of national disaster, or, at least, they and their material objectives were relegated to a comparatively low scale of value in contrast to the high codes and goals of the Dharma—especially in the field of domestic administration.

Indeed, the moral behavior of the ruler may be taken as a cornerstone of Indian thought. Like the Confucian political ethic in China and the Platonic in ancient Greece, the Hindu stressed the ultimate importance of individual political morality. Over and over again, the Indian theorist stresses the prime necessity for the ruler and his ministers

of conquering personal desires for pleasure or power and holding to the duties imposed by office and law. We find this attitude even in the "realists" Kautilya and Sukra, the former summing up this aspect as follows: "The whole of the science [of politics] consists in mastery [of the temptations] of the five senses."[61]

III

THE ROD OF LAW: MANU

If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those deserving to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit.

MANU

TO THE WESTERN WORLD, the *Code of Manu* or *Manusaṁhitā* is the best-known work of its kind. This fame is due in part to its selection by Warren Hastings from a large number of works on Indian law for translation and official use by the British East India Company. It is the oldest known book on Hindu law, for the earliest extant treatises—those of Vasishtha and Gautama—contain quotations from a presumably lost version of Manu, thus confirming its priority.[1] Manu has also been looked upon traditionally by Hindus as the prime legal authority, and in case of conflict with other codes, that of Manu takes precedence.[2]

Who was Manu? The word itself is derived from the root

man (mankind).[4] Mythologically, Manu was the father of the human race, the first lawgiver. He, like Noah, escaped a great flood. And he was thereafter the reviver and promulgator of the laws of justice.[4] He is also described as the first and greatest of ancient Indian kings, the offspring of the Sun.[5] Finally, Manu is said to be not a person at all, but a title given to great lawgivers.[6] The actual author or authors of the *Manusaṁhitā* no doubt used the name of Manu to give authority to its rules, for early writers in the Orient often professed to be mere transmitters of ancient tradition and avoided claims to authorship.[7]

The date of Manu is a matter of controversy. Tradition places the work at the dawn of civilization. On the other hand, some historians have attempted to ascribe it to a Brahman pundit in the Sunga dynasty of the second century B.C., labeling it a political tract designed to support Brahman rule after the collapse of the Kshatriya authority of the Maurya dynasty.[8] So far as the version quoted in this chapter is concerned, estimates of date vary all the way from the sixth century B.C. to the early Christian Era. After comparing the various conflicting claims, Kane concludes that our *Code of Manu* was constructed between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200, with perhaps an earlier original version.[9]

Regardless of date, Manu is more than a law book. "It is unquestionably rather to be compared with the great poem of Lucretius, beside which it ranks as the expression of a philosophy of life."[10] The breadth of subject matter indicates how all-embracing the *Manusaṁhitā* was in laying the foundations for the functioning of the ancient Hindu state. Most of the basic political concepts discussed in

chapter ii are to be found therein. These include caste, Kshatriya rule, Brahman advice, and official integrity. We find such diverse topics as: The Creation, sources of law, marriage, duties of women, the king, judicial procedure, debts, nonpayment of wages, theft, inheritance, and penances.[11] The entire work emphasizes the necessity of respect for the Dharma in all aspects of social life. The following section on the conduct of the ruler stresses particularly kingly morality and the function of *daṇḍa* or punishment.[12]

The Manusamhita

THE KING

I will declare the duties of kings, and show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how he can obtain the highest success.

When creatures, being without a king, were through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation.

Even an infant king must not be despised, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.

Let no man, therefore, transgress that law which the king decrees with respect to those in his favor, nor his orders which inflict pain on those in disfavor.

Having fully considered the time and the place of the offense, the strength and the knowledge of the offender, let him justly inflict that punishment on men who act unjustly.

Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment to be identical with the law.

If punishment is properly inflicted after due consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.

If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those deserving to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit.

The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments which it owes.

They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows the respective value of virtue, wealth, and pleasure.[13]

A king who properly inflicts punishment, prospers with respect to those three means of happiness; but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the unjust punishment which he inflicts.

Punishment possesses a very bright luster, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds; it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives.[14]

Punishment cannot be inflicted justly by one who has no assistant, nor by a fool, nor by a covetous man, nor by one addicted to sensual pleasures.

The king has been created to be the protector of the castes and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.

Whatever must be done by him and by his servants for the protection of his people, that I will fully declare to you in due order.

Let him daily worship aged Brahmans who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always reveres aged men, is honored even by Rakshasas.[15]

Let him, though he may already be modest, constantly learn modesty from them; for a king who is modest never perishes.

From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold sacred science: the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the supreme Soul; from the people the theory of the various trades and professions.

Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses; for he alone who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience.[16]

Let him carefully shun the ten vices, springing from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which all end in misery.

For a king who is attached to the vices springing from love of pleasure loses his wealth and his virtue, but he who is given to those arising from anger loses even his life.

Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, censoriousness,

excess with women, drunkenness, an inordinate love for dancing, singing, and music, and useless travel are the tenfold set of vices springing from love of pleasure.

Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, unjust seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set of vices produced by wrath.

That greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these sets, let him carefully conquer; both sets of vices are produced by that.

On a comparison between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious; a vicious man sinks to the nethermost hell, he who dies, free from vice, ascends to heaven.

THE KING'S MINISTERS

Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried.

Let him daily consider with them the ordinary business, referring to peace and war, the four subjects called *sthāna*, the revenue, the manner of protecting himself and his kingdom, and the sanctification of his gains by pious gifts.[17]

But with the most distinguished among them all, a learned Brahman, let the king deliberate on the most important affairs which relate to the six measures of royal policy.[18]

Let him, full of confidence, always entrust to that official all business; having taken his final resolution with him, let him afterward begin to act.

He must also appoint other officials, men of integrity who are wise, firm, well able to collect money and well tried.

Among them let him employ the brave, the skillful, the highborn, and the honest in offices for the collection of revenue, e.g., in mines, manufactures, and storehouses, but the timid in the interior of his palace.

Let him also appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences, who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, who is honest, skillful, and of noble family.

With respect to affairs, let the ambassador explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the foreign king through the gestures and actions of his confidential advisers, and discover his designs among his servants.

Having learnt exactly from his ambassador the designs of the foreign king, let the king take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself.

Let him build a town, making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of stone and earth, or one protected by water or trees, or one formed by an encampment of armed men or a hill-fort.

Let him cause to be built for himself, in the center of it, a spacious palace, well protected, habitable in every season, resplendent with whitewash, supplied with water and trees.

Inhabiting that, let him wed a consort of equal caste, who possesses auspicious marks on her body, and is born in a great family, who is charming and possesses beauty and excellent qualities.

Let him appoint a domestic priest and choose officiating

priests; they shall perform his domestic rites and the sacrifices for which three fires are required.

Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trusty officials, let him obey the sacred law in his transactions with the people, and behave like a father toward all men.

Let him honor those Brahmans who have returned from their teacher's house after studying the Veda; for that money which is given to Brahmans is declared to be an imperishable treasure for kings.

A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by foes, be they equal in strength, or stronger, or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.

Not to turn back in battle, to protect the people, to honor the Brahmans, is the best means for a king to secure happiness.

As the weeder plucks up the weeds and preserves the corn, even so let the king protect his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

Let the king confiscate the whole property of those officials who, evil-minded, may take bribes from suitors, and banish them.

After due consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive their due reward.

As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes.

Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm

who live by trade, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax.

Mechanics and artisans, as well as Sudras who subsist by manual labor, he may cause to work for himself one day in each month.

Let him not cut up his own root by levying no taxes, nor the root of other men by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched.

Let the king, having carefully considered each affair, be both sharp and gentle; for a king who is both sharp and gentle is highly respected.

The highest duty of a Kshatriya is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys privileges is bound to discharge that duty.

He shall gratify all subjects who come to see him, by a kind reception and afterward dismiss them; having dismissed his subjects, he shall take counsel with his ministers.

Ascending the back of a hill or a terrace, and retiring there in a lonely place, or in a solitary forest, let him consult with them unobserved.

That king whose secret plans other people, though assembled for the purpose, can not discover, will enjoy the whole earth, though he be poor in treasure.

Despicable persons, likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret counsel; for that reason he must be careful with respect to them.

At midday or at midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself alone or with his ministers, on virtue, pleasure, and wealth.

IV

EPIC POLITICAL SCIENCE: VYASA

His own self must be conquered by the king for all time;
then only are his enemies to be conquered.

VYASA

ALTHOUGH THE EPIC PERIOD is of uncertain chronology it corresponds to the centuries following the close of the Vedic Age and is featured by the creation of India's two great historical epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] These profound didactic poems developed and popularized the philosophical concepts of the Vedic literature, elaborating, supplementing, modifying, and dramatizing the early ideas. The *Mahābhārata* describes the tribal warfare between contending kingdoms in what is now the Delhi region of northern India. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells of the exploits of Prince Rama on the Indian peninsula and culminates with his conquest of Ceylon.

The *Mahābhārata* is recognized as the greater of these epics and as a narrative poem has been ranked with the *Iliad*

of Homer. It is considerably longer than the *Iliad*, but like the Greek epic, it deals with war—that between the Kurus and Panchalas of northern India. From the standpoint of political thought, the most notable part of the *Mahābhārata* is that known as the *Śāntiparvan*, or "book of consolation," which is a compendium of advice, political, ethical, and philosophical.

Vyasa, the author, is, like Manu, a mythical figure of uncertain identity. Vyasa means "arranger" or "compiler." Although various authors of antiquity are so designated, the term is used especially as a title of the compiler of the Vedas, who has also been regarded by some as the author of the *Mahābhārata*—an assumption which is questionable from chronological and literary standpoints. Just as we find a series of fourteen different Manus, so the Puranas tell of twenty-eight Vyasas who compiled wisdom in different ages. The arranger of the *Mahābhārata* is Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa, and it is between the descendants of his two sons, Dhritarashtra and Pandu, that the *Mahābhārata* war is contested.[2]

The date of this war, according to long-standing Hindu tradition, is 3139 B.C.—marking the beginning of the present Kali Age of mankind.[3] Various modern scholars, however, place the conflict somewhere between the tenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.[4] The *Mahābhārata* itself was composed over an extended period of time. The original germ of the epic is said by some to have been created as early as 1100 B.C. and to have grown until the sixth century A.D.[5] Winternitz concludes that it attained approximately its present form by the third or fourth century A.D.[6] The oldest

existing copy of the *Śāntiparvan* is a palm leaf manuscript in the Durbar library of Nepal, dated A.D. 1516. This and other manuscripts are now being collated in the editing of a monumental critical edition.

In its political phases, a notable feature of the *Śāntiparvan* is the contrast between the rules laid down for normal government and those propounded for critical periods. The section dealing with periods of disaster contains some of the most cold-blooded realism in the history of political theory.[7] Unless the modern reader fully appreciates the tenacity and the restraining power of Dharma in traditional Indian government, he may easily conclude that cynicism is the guiding tenet of the author of *Śāntiparvan*. But behind all the brutal expediencies there remains an ultimate accountability to the rule of Dharma. The code governing the rules of actual warfare is distinguished by its humane spirit.[8]

Besides offering a larger body of concepts than Manu relative to the origin and nature of sovereign power, the *Mahābhārata* deals with the problems of the *gaṇas* or republics which feature the early Buddhist era.[9] In the *Śāntiparvan* the Indian speculative genius is seen in its richest form, and here also "the political ideas of the Hindus undoubtedly reached their high watermark."[10]

The Śantiparvan

THE RULER IN NORMAL TIMES

One becomes a king for acting in the interests of righteousness and not for conducting himself capriciously. The king is, indeed, the protector of the world. If the king acts righteously, he attains to the position of a god. On the other hand, if he acts unrighteously, he sinks into hell. All creatures rest upon righteousness. Righteousness, in its turn, rests upon the king. That king, therefore, who upholds righteousness, is truly a king. All creatures grow in the growth of righteousness, and decay with its decay. Righteousness is called DHARMA. The sages, O king, have declared that Dharma restrains and sets bounds to all evil acts of men. The Lord created Dharma for the advancement and growth of creatures. For this reason, a king should act according to the dictates of Dharma for benefiting his subjects. For this reason also, Dharma has been said to be the foremost of all things. Disregarding lust and wrath, observe thou the dictates of righteousness. Among all things, that conduce to the prosperity of kings, righteousness is the foremost.

The Shrutis declare that Unrighteousness begat a son named Pride upon the goddess of Prosperity. This Pride, led many among the gods and the Asuras to ruin.[11] Many royal sages also have suffered destruction on his account. He who succeeds in conquering him becomes a king. He, on the other hand, who suffers himself to be conquered by him, becomes a slave. If thou wishest for an eternal life, live as a king should that does not indulge these two—Pride and Unrighteousness! Abstain from companionship with him that is intoxicated, him that is heedless, him that is a scoffer of religion, him that is insensate, and forbear to pay court to all of them when united.

It is said that the Creator created Power for the object of protecting Weakness. Weakness is, indeed, a great being, for everything depends upon it. The eyes of the weak, of the *muni*, and of the snake of virulent poison, should be regarded as unbearable.[12] Do not, therefore, come into hostile contact with the weak. Thou shouldst regard the weak as always subject to humiliation. Take care that the eyes of the weak do not burn thee with thy kinsmen. In a race scorched by the eyes of the weak, no children take birth. Weakness is more powerful than even the greatest Power, for that Power which is scorched by Weakness becomes totally exterminated. If a person, who has been humiliated or struck, fails, while shrieking for assistance, to obtain a protector, divine chastisement overtakes the king and brings about his destruction. Do not, while in enjoyment of Power, take wealth from those that are weak. The tears shed by weeping men abused by falsehoods slay the children and animals of those that have uttered those falsehoods. Like a cow, a sinful act

perpetrated does not produce immediate fruits. If the fruit is not seen in the perpetrator himself, it is seen in his son or in his son's son, or daughter's son. When a weak person fails to find a rescuer, the great rod of divine chastisement falls upon the king.

The enjoyment of good things after sharing them with others, paying proper honors to the ministers, and subjugation of persons intoxicated with strength, are said to constitute the great duty of a king. Protecting all men by words, body, and deeds, and never forgiving his son himself if he has offended, constitute the great duty of the king. The maintenance of those that are weak by sharing with them the things he has and thereby increasing their strength, constitutes the duty of the king. Protection of the kingdom, extermination of robbers, and conquering in battle, constitute the duty of the king. Never to forgive a person, however dear, if he has committed an offense by act or word, constitutes the duty of the king. Protecting those that solicit shelter as he would protect his own children, constitutes the duty of the king.

The king is said to resemble the Thousand-eyed Indra in every respect. That should be regarded as righteousness which is regarded as such by him. Thou shouldst, without being heedless, cultivate forgiveness, intelligence, patience, and the love of all creatures.[12] Thou shouldst also ascertain the strength and weakness of all men and learn to distinguish between right and wrong. Thou shouldst conduct thyself with propriety toward all creatures, make gifts, and utter agreeable and sweet words. Thou shouldst maintain the

residents of thy city and the provinces in happiness. A king who is not clever never succeeds in protecting his subjects.

Sovereignty is a very heavy burden to bear. Only that king who is possessed of wisdom and courage, and who is conversant with the science of chastisement, can protect a kingdom. He, on the other hand, who is without energy and intelligence, and who is not versed in the great science, is incompetent to bear the burden of sovereignty.

That king who disregards righteousness and desires to act with brute force soon falls away from righteousness and loses both righteousness and profit. That king who acts according to the counsels of a vicious and sinful minister becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family. Indeed, he very soon meets with destruction. That king who is incompetent to discharge the duties of statecraft, who is governed by caprice in all his acts, and who indulges in brag, soon meets with destruction even if he happen to be ruler of the whole earth. That king, on the other hand, who is desirous of prosperity, who is free from malice, who has his senses under control, and who is gifted with intelligence, thrives in affluence like the ocean swelling with the waters discharged into it by a hundred streams. He should never consider himself to have a sufficiency of virtue, enjoyments, wealth, intelligence, and friends. Upon these depends the conduct of the world.

By listening to these counsels, a king obtains fame, achievements, prosperity, and subjects. Devoted to virtue, that king who seeks the acquisition of virtue and wealth by such means, and who begins all his measures after reflecting upon their objects, succeeds in obtaining great prosperity.

That king who has no instructor in the ways of righteousness and who never asks others for counsels, and who seeks to acquire wealth by means that caprice suggests, never succeeds in enjoying happiness long.[14] That king, on the other hand, who listens to the instructions of his preceptor in matters connected with virtue, who supervises the affairs of his kingdom himself, and who in all his acquisitions is guided by considerations of virtue, succeeds in enjoying happiness for a long time.

When the king, who is powerful, acts unrighteously toward the weak, they who take their birth in his race imitate the same conduct. Others, again, imitate that wretch who sets sin agoing. Such imitation of the man ungoverned by restraints soon brings destruction upon the kingdom. The conduct of a king who is observant of his proper duties, is accepted by men in general as a model for imitation.[15] The conduct, however, of a king who falls away from his duties, is not tolerated by his very kinsfolk. That rash king who, disregarding the injunctions laid down in the scriptures, acts with highhandedness in his kingdom, very soon meets with destruction.

Thou shouldst never abandon righteousness from lust or wrath or malice. Do not give harsh answers when questioned by anybody. Do not utter undignified speeches. Never be in a hurry to do anything. Never indulge in malice. By such means is a foe won over. Do not give way to exclusive joy when anything agreeable occurs, nor suffer thyself to be overwhelmed with sorrow when anything disagreeable occurs. Never indulge in grief when thy pecuniary resources are exhausted, and always remember the duty of doing good

to thy subjects. The king should always, with heedfulness, cherish that devoted servant who abstains from doing what is injurious to his ruler and who always does what is for his good. He should appoint in all great affairs persons that have subjugated their senses, that are devotedly loyal and of pure behavior, and that are possessed of ability. That person, who by the possession of such qualifications pleases the king and who is never heedless in taking care of the interests of his ruler, should be appointed by the king in the affairs of his kingdom. On the other hand, the king becomes divested of prosperity by appointing to important offices men that are fools and slaves of their senses, that are covetous and of disreputable conduct, that are deceitful and hypocritical, that are malicious, wicked-souled, and ignorant, that are low-minded, and addicted to drink, gambling, women, and hunting. From ministers that have once been chastised, from women in especial, from mountains and inaccessible regions, from elephants and horses and reptiles, the king should always with heedfulness, protect his own self.[16]

THE RULER IN TIMES OF DISASTER

When calamities overtake the king, he should, without losing time, counsel wisely, display his prowess properly, fight with ability, and even retreat with wisdom. In speech only should the king exhibit his humility, but at heart he should be sharp as a razor. He should cast off lust and wrath, and speak sweetly and mildly. When the occasion comes for negotiating with an enemy, a king possessed of foresight should make peace, without reposing blind trust on him. When the business is over, he should quickly turn away

from the new ally. One should conciliate a foe with sweet assurances as if he were a friend. One, however, should always stand in fear of that foe as of a room within which there is a snake. The foe whose understanding is to be dominated should be assured by references to the past. He who is of wicked understanding should be assured by promises of future good. The person, however, that is possessed of wisdom, should be assured by present services. The king who is desirous of achieving prosperity should join hands, swear, use sweet words, worship by bending down his head, and shed tears. One should bear one's foe on one's shoulders as long as time is unfavorable. When, however, the opportunity has come, one should break him into fragments like an earthen jar on a stone. It is better that a king should blaze up for a moment like charcoal of ebonywood than that he should smoulder and smoke like chaff for many years.

They that are idle never win affluence; nor they that are destitute of manliness and exertion; nor they that are stained by vanity; nor they that fear unpopularity; nor they that are always procrastinating. The king should act in such a way that his foe may not succeed in detecting his negligence. He should, however, himself mark the negligence of his foe. He should imitate the tortoise which conceals its limbs. Indeed, he should always conceal his own weaknesses. He should think of all matters connected with finance like a crane.[17] He should put forth his prowess like a lion. He should lie in wait like a wolf and fall upon and pierce his foes like a shaft. Drink, dice, women, hunting, and music—these he should enjoy judiciously. Addiction to these is productive of evil. He should make his bow of bamboo; he should sleep like

the deer; he should be blind when it is necessary that he should be so, or he should even be deaf when it is necessary to be deaf. The king possessed of wisdom should put forth his prowess, regardful of time and place. If these are not favorable, prowess becomes futile. Marking timeliness and untimeliness, reflecting upon his own strength and weakness, and improving his own strength by comparing it with that of the enemy, the king should address himself to action.

That king who does not crush a foe reduced to subjection by military force, provides for his own death like the crab when she conceives. The king should put forth blossoms but not fruits. Putting forth fruits he should be difficult of climbing; and though unripe he should seem to be ripe. If he conducts himself in such a way then would he succeed in upholding himself against all foes. The king should first strengthen the hopes of those that approach him as suitors. He should then put obstacles in the way of the fulfillment of those hopes. He should say that those obstacles are merely due to circumstances. He should next represent that those circumstances are really the results of grave causes. As long as the cause of fear does not actually come, the king should make all his arrangements like a person inspired with fear. When, however, the cause of fear comes upon him he should smite fearlessly.

No man can reap good without incurring danger. If, again, he succeeds in preserving his life amid danger, he is sure to earn great benefits. A king should ascertain all future dangers; when they are present, he should conquer them; and lest they grow again, he should, even after conquering them, think them to be unconquered. The abandonment of

present happiness and the pursuit of that which is future, is never the policy of a person possessed of intelligence. That king who having made peace with a foe sleeps happily in trustfulness is like a man who sleeping on the top of a tree awakes after a fall. When one falls into distress, one should raise one's self by any means in one's power, mild or stern; and after such rise, when competent, one should practice righteousness.

Danger springs from trust. Trust should never be placed without previous examination. Having by plausible reasons inspired confidence in the enemy, the king should smite him when he makes a false step. The king should fear him from whom there is no fear; he should also always fear them that should be feared. Fear that arises from an unfeared one may lead to total extermination. Even as certain insects of sharp stings cut off all the flowers and fruits of the trees on which they sit, the king should, after having inspired confidence in his foe by honors and salutations and gifts, turn against him and shear him of everything. Without piercing the very vitals of others, without accomplishing many stern deeds, without slaughtering living creatures after the manner of the fisherman, one cannot acquire great prosperity.

There is no separate species of creatures called foes or friends. Persons become friends or foes according to the force of circumstances.[18] The king should never allow his foe to escape even if the foe should indulge in piteous lamentations. He should never be moved by these; on the other hand, it is his duty to destroy the person that has done him an injury. A king desirous of prosperity should take care to attach to himself as many men as he can, and to do them

good. In behaving toward his subjects he should always be free from malice. He should also, with great care, punish and check the wicked and disaffected. When he intends to take wealth, he should say what is agreeable. Having taken wealth, he should say similar things. Having struck off one's head with his sword, he should grieve and shed tears. A king desirous of prosperity should draw others unto himself by means of sweet words, honors, and gifts. Even thus should he bind men unto his service. The king should never engage in fruitless disputes.

The unpaid balance of a debt, the unquenched remnant of foes, repeatedly grow and increase. Therefore, all those should be completely extinguished and exterminated. Debt, which always grows, is certain to remain unless wholly extinguished. The same is the case with defeated foes and neglected maladies. These always produce great fear. One should, therefore, always eradicate them. Every act should be done thoroughly. One should be always heedful. Such a minute thing as a thorn, if extracted badly, leads to obstinate gangrene.

A king should be farsighted like the vulture, patient like a crane, vigilant like a dog, valiant like a lion, fearful like a crow, and penetrate the territories of his foes like a snake with ease and without anxiety." A king should win over a hero by joining his palms, a coward by inspiring him with fear, and a covetous man by gifts of wealth while with an equal he should wage war. He should be mindful of producing disunion among the leaders of sects and of conciliating those that are dear to him. He should protect his ministers from disunion and destruction. If he becomes

stern, the people feel it as an affliction. The rule is that he should be stern when the occasion requires sternness, and mild when the occasion requires mildness. By mildness should the mild be cut. By mildness one may destroy that which is fierce. There is nothing that mildness cannot effect. For this reason, mildness is said to be sharper than fierceness. That king who becomes mild when the occasion requires mildness and who becomes stern when sternness is required, succeeds in accomplishing all his objects, and in putting down his foes.

Having incurred the animosity of a person possessed of knowledge and wisdom, one should not draw comfort from the conviction that one is at a distance from one's foe. Far-reaching are the arms of an intelligent man by which he injures when injured. That should not be sought to be crossed which is really uncrossable. That should not be snatched from the foe which the foe would be able to recover. One should not seek to dig at all if by digging one would not succeed in getting at the root of the thing for which one digs. One should never strike him whose head one would not cut off. A king should not always act in this way. This course of conduct should be pursued only in seasons of distress.[20]

V

THE ART OF POLITICS: KAUTILYA

For it is power that brings about peace between any two rulers. No piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron.

KAUTILYA

KAUTILYA'S WORK is unique among the classic selections in this volume. In the first place, he is, in contrast with the other authors, an historical personage and his *Arthaśāstra* can be dated more readily. Again, the work itself was long lost and only recently discovered.[1] Finally, the dramatic nature of this discovery, together with the remarkably utilitarian character of the material, caused something like an upheaval in Indian political studies.[2] It was hailed as welcome proof of the practical turn of the Indian mind, which had been the subject of Western criticism because of its alleged preoccupation with mysticism and idealism. A flood of Indian books and articles on Kautilya followed Shamasastry's publication of the text in 1909.[3]

The author of the *Arthaśāstra* is now identified by most scholars as the famous Chanakya, prime minister of Chandragupta (345?–300? B.C.), founder of the powerful Maurya dynasty.[4] The Puranas give a dramatic account of Chanakya's life.[5] He was a Brahman who was insulted by the low-caste Nanda king of Magadha. After promising to make Chandragupta Maurya king, he killed Nanda by magic. Having placed the Maurya dynasty on the throne of Magadha in 321 B.C., Chanakya, through diplomatic craft, established suzerainty over all the smaller kingdoms of northern India.[6] Thus, following Alexander the Great's invasion, the new empire presented a united front to the foreign aggressor under a central power that ruled from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The Macedonian garrisons were driven from their outposts in the northwest and Alexander's successor, Seleukos, was defeated and humiliated.[7] Chanakya, or Kautilya, symbolizes diplomatic skill and daring, and his writings and precepts have been compared to those of Machiavelli as expressions of political "realism."[8]

Did Machiavelli find his inspiration and model in Kautilya? The first Europeans visited India in the fifteenth century, and the Portuguese opened an all-water route to Calicut in 1498. Fifteen years later Machiavelli wrote *The Prince!* Did some European bring back an Arabic or other translation of the *Arthaśāstra* which Machiavelli used and never acknowledged? Such a simple explanation is hardly possible—aside from textual considerations—for there are innumerable examples in European literature beginning as early as A.D. 800 of manuals of practical statecraft for the

guidance of the king.[9] If Kautilya was ever a model, the influence must have long preceded Machiavelli's time. Also, we have seen above a possible parallel influence in the *Śāntiparvan.*

The chronology of Kautilya is comparatively clear, but that of the work involves various problems. If the work is, in fact, the product of Chandragupta's minister, it is nevertheless difficult to say now what is Mauryan and what is of later accretion. On the one hand, there is evidence that the rules contained in the *Arthaśāstra* were those actually enforced in Maurya times and that it was actually a fragment of an existing code.[10] Many of the edicts of King Asoka in the third century B.C. are similar to the instructions found in Kautilya's manual.[11] On the other hand, the *Arthaśāstra* proclaims itself to be chiefly a summary and abstract of a vast and ancient line of literature upon the same subject.[12] Some, even, would place Kautilya earlier than either Manu or the *Śāntiparvan.*[13] In the plan of this present study, however, we have given Manu his traditional place of precedence as the first lawgiver. The *Mahābhārata,* as the foremost product of the epic age, comes logically next, and Kautilya as an historical figure follows. The numerous problems of chronology raised by textual considerations of existing manuscripts need not concern us here. Kane dates Kautilya's work not earlier than 300 B.C.[14] It may not have reached its present form until the third or fourth century A.D.

Although Kautilya has become a symbol of cold and cynical realism in Indian thought, such characterization is not entirely deserved. The *Śāntiparvan,* too, has its realism, as have other classical writings. And despite this feature, we

find the *Arthaśāstra* thoroughly grounded on Brahmanical doctrine.[15] A fitting summary of the historical position of this work has been given by Rangaswami Aiyangar. "After the days of Kautilya the conditions were, in a sense, unfavorable to the advance of political speculation. The extraordinary thoroughness of Kautilya's work, its eminent inductiveness and practical character, its unflinching logic and heedlessness of adventitious moral or religious standards, and its wide range of subjects and interest—which give it a unique combination of features that, in European literature, we find only separately in an Aristotle, a Machiavelli, and a Bacon—must have coöperated with the rise of a well-knit empire of unprecedented dimensions, under the Mauryan and succeeding dynasties, to depress creative political thought in the centuries after Kautilya."[16]

Whatever our individual appraisal may be, few will fail to see the ironical relevancy of Kautilya's analysis of foreign policy to our present-day problems of power politics.[17]

The Arthasastra

MINISTERS AND CITIZENS

Assisted by his prime minister and his high priest, the king shall, by offering temptations, examine the character of ministers appointed in government departments.

The king shall dismiss a priest who, when ordered, refuses to teach the Vedas to an outcast person or to officiate in a sacrificial performance undertaken by an outcaste.[18] Then the dismissed priest shall, through the medium of spies under the guise of classmates, instigate each minister, one after another, saying on oath, "This king is unrighteous; well, let us set up in his place another king who is righteous, or who is born of the same family as this king, or who is kept imprisoned, or a neighboring king of his family, or a wild chief, or an upstart; this attempt is to the liking of all of us; what dost thou think?" If any one or all of the ministers refuse to acquiesce in such a measure, he or they shall be considered pure. This is what is called religious allurement.

A commander of the army, dismissed from service for receiving unlawful things, may, through the agency of spies

under the guise of classmates, incite each minister to murder the king in view of acquiring immense wealth, each minister being asked, "This attempt is to the liking of all of us; what dost thou think?" If they refuse to agree, they are to be considered pure. This is what is termed monetary allurement.

A woman spy, under the guise of an ascetic and highly esteemed in the harem of the king, may allure each prime minister, one after another, saying, "The queen is enamored of thee and has made arrangements for thy entrance into her chamber; besides this, there is also the certainty of large acquisition of wealth." If they discard the proposal, they are pure. This is what is styled love allurement.

With the proposal of leaving on a commercial vessel, a minister may induce all other ministers to follow him. Apprehensive of danger, the king may arrest them all. A spy, under the guise of a fraudulent disciple, pretending to have suffered imprisonment, may incite each of these ministers thus deprived of wealth and rank, saying, "The king has betaken himself to an unwise course; well, after murdering him, let us put another in his stead, we all like this; what dost thou think?" If they refuse to agree, they are pure. This is what is termed allurement under fear.

Of these tried ministers, those whose character has been tested under religious allurements shall be employed in civil and criminal courts; those whose purity has been tested under monetary allurements shall be employed in the work of a revenue collector and chamberlain; those who have been tried under love allurements shall be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, both external and internal; those who have been tested by allurements under

fear shall be appointed to immediate service; and those whose character has been tested under all kinds of allurements shall be employed as prime ministers, while those who are proved impure under one or all of these allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and factories.

Hence having set up an external object as the butt for the four kinds of allurements, the king shall, through the agency of spies, find out the pure or impure character of his ministers. Assisted by the council of his ministers tried under espionage, the king shall proceed to create spies.

A skillful person capable of guessing the mind of others may pose as a disciple. Having recruited such a spy with honor and money rewards, the minister shall tell him, "Sworn to the king and myself, thou shalt inform us of whatever wickedness thou findest in others."

One who is initiated in asceticism and is possessed of foresight and pure character may pose as a recluse. This spy, provided with much money and many disciples, shall carry on agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade on the lands allotted to him for the purpose. Out of the produce and profits thus acquired, he shall provide fellow ascetics with subsistence, clothing, and lodging, and send on espionage such among those under his protection as are desirous to earn a livelihood, ordering each of them to detect a particular kind of crime committed in connection with the king's wealth, and to report of it when they come to receive their subsistence and wages. All the ascetics under the recluse shall severally send their own followers on similar errands.

A cultivator, fallen from his profession, but possessed of

foresight and pure character, is termed a householder spy. This spy shall carry on the cultivation of lands allotted to him for the purpose, and maintain cultivators, etc.—as before.

A trader, fallen from his profession, but possessed of foresight and pure character, is a merchant spy. This spy shall carry on the manufacture of merchandise on lands allotted to him for the purpose, etc.—as before.

A man with shaved head or braided hair and desirous to earn livelihood is a spy under the guise of an ascetic practicing austerities. Such a spy surrounded by a host of disciples with shaved head or braided hair may take his abode in the suburbs of a city, and pretend to be a person barely living on a handful of vegetables or meadow grass taken once in the interval of a month or two, but he may take in secret his favorite foodstuffs.[10] Merchant spies pretending to be his disciples may worship him as one possessed of preternatural powers. His other disciples may widely proclaim that "this ascetic is an accomplished expert of preternatural powers."

Regarding those persons who, desirous of knowing their future, throng to him, he may, through palmistry, pretend to foretell such future events as he can ascertain by the nods and signs of his disciples concerning the works of highborn people of the country—viz., small profits, destruction by fire, fear from robbers, the execution of the seditious, rewards for the good, forecast of foreign affairs, saying, "This will happen today, that tomorrow, and that this king will do." Such assertions of the ascetic his disciples shall corroborate by adducing facts and figures. He shall also

foretell not only the rewards which persons possessed of foresight, eloquence, and bravery are likely to receive at the hands of the king, but also probable changes in the appointments of ministers. The king's minister shall direct his affairs in conformity to the forecast made by the ascetic.[20] He shall appease with offers of wealth and honor those who have had some well-known cause to be disaffected, and impose punishment in secret on those who are for no reason disaffected or who are plotting against the king.

Honored by the king with awards of money and titles, these five institutes of espionage shall ascertain the purity of character of the king's servants.

ADMINISTRATION AND REVENUE

Those who are possessed of ministerial qualifications shall, in accordance with their individual capacity, be appointed as superintendents of government departments. While engaged in work, they shall be daily examined; for men are naturally fickle-minded, and, like horses at work, exhibit constant change in their temper. Hence the agency and tools which they make use of, the place and time of the work they are engaged in, as well as the precise form of the work, the outlay, and the results shall always be ascertained.

Without dissension and without any collusion among themselves they shall carry on their work as ordered. When in collusion, they eat up the revenue. When in disunion, they mar the work. A fine of twice the amount of their daily pay and of the expenditure incurred by them shall be fixed for any inadvertence on their part. The superintendents of all the departments shall carry on their respective works in

company with accountants, writers, coin examiners, the treasurers, and military officers. Those who attend upon military officers and are noted for their honesty and good conduct shall be spies to watch the conduct of accountants and other clerks.

Just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison that finds itself at the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up, at least, a bit of the king's revenue. Just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either as drinking or not drinking water, so government servants employed in the government work cannot be found out while taking money for themselves. It is possible to mark the movements of birds flying high up in the sky; but not so is it possible to ascertain the movement of government servants of hidden purpose.

Government servants shall not only be confiscated of their ill-earned hoards, but also be transferred from one work to another, so that they can be prevented from misappropriating government money or made to vomit what they have eaten up. Those who increase the king's revenue instead of eating it up, and are loyally devoted to him, shall be made permanent in service.

FOREIGN POLICY

There are six forms of foreign policy. Of these, agreement with pledges is PEACE; offensive operation is WAR; indifference is NEUTRALITY; making preparation is MARCHING; seeking the protection of another is ALLIANCE; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a DOUBLE POLICY. These are the six forms.

That position in which neither progress nor retrogression is seen is stagnation. Whoever thinks his stagnancy to be of a shorter duration and his prosperity in the long run to be greater than his enemy's may neglect his temporary stagnation. If any two kings, who are hostile to each other, and are in a stationary condition, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth and power in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

When the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace; for disadvantages, such as the loss of power and wealth, sojourning, and sin, are ever attending upon war. The same holds good in the case of neutrality and war. Of the two forms of policy, double policy and alliance, double policy (making peace with one and waging war with another) is preferable; for whoever adopts the double policy enriches himself, being ever attentive to his own works, whereas an allied king has to help his ally at his own expense.

One shall make an alliance with a king who is stronger than one's neighboring enemy; in the absence of such a king, one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighboring enemy, either by supplying money or army or by ceding a part of one's territory and by keeping oneself aloof; but there can be no greater evil to kings than alliance with a king of considerable power, unless one is actually attacked by one's enemy.[21]

A powerless king should behave as a conquered king toward his immediate enemy; but when he finds that the time of his own ascendancy is at hand, due to a fatal disease, internal troubles, increase of enemies, or a friend's calami-

ties that are vexing his enemy, then under the pretense of performing some expiatory rites to avert the danger of his enemy, he may get out of the enemy's court; or if he is in his own territory, he should not go to see his suffering enemy; or if he is near to his enemy, he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself.

A king who is situated between two powerful kings shall seek protection from the stronger of the two; or from one of them on whom he can rely; or he may make peace with both of them on equal terms. Then he may begin to set one of them against the other by telling each that the other is a tyrant causing utter ruin to himself, and thus cause dissension between them. When they are divided, he may put down each separately by secret or covert means. Or, throwing himself under the protection of any two immediate kings of considerable power, he may defend himself against an immediate enemy. Or, having made an alliance with a chief in a stronghold, he may adopt the double policy (make peace with one of the two kings and wage war with another). Or, he may adapt himself to circumstances, depending upon the causes of peace and war in order. Or, he may make friendship with traitors, enemies, and wild chiefs who are conspiring against both the kings. Or, pretending to be a close friend of one of them, he may strike the other at the latter's weak point by employing enemies and wild tribes.

A king desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of the sixfold policy.

Agreements of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings; and an inferior king shall be attacked. Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king will be reduced to

the same condition as that of a footsoldier opposing an elephant. Just as the collision of an unbaked mudvessel with a similar vessel is destructive to both, so war with an equal king brings ruin to both. Like a stone striking an earthen pot, a superior king attains decisive victory over an inferior king.

If a superior king discards the proposal of an inferior king for peace, the latter should take the attitude of a conquered king, or play the part of an inferior king toward a superior. When a king of equal power does not like peace, then the same amount of vexation as his opponent has received at his hands should be given to him in return; for it is power that brings about peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron. When an inferior king is all submissive, peace should be made with him; for when provoked by causing him troubles and anger, an inferior king, like a wild fire, will attack his enemy and will also be favored by his Circle of States (*Maṇḍala*).

When a king in peace with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his enemy, still they do not choose to revolt in consequence of the troubles of war, then he should, though of superior power, make peace with his enemy or remove the troubles of war as far as possible.

When one of the two kings at war with each other and equally involved in trouble finds his own troubles to be greater than his enemy's, and thinks that his enemy by getting rid of his own troubles can successfully wage war with him, then he should, though possessing greater re-

sources, sue for peace. When, either in peace or war, a king finds neither loss to his enemy nor to himself, he should, though superior, observe neutrality. When a king finds the troubles of his enemy irremediable, he should, though of inferior power, march against the enemy. When a king finds himself threatened by imminent danger or troubles, he should, though superior, seek the protection of another.

When a king is sure to achieve his desired ends by making peace with one and waging war with another, he should, though superior, adopt the double policy.

Thus it is that the six forms of policy are applied together.

VI

MEDIEVAL STATESMANSHIP: SUKRA

Teeth, nails, hair, and kings do not look well when taken out of their proper situations.

SUKRA

IN THE THREE WORLDS there is no other policy like that of the poet Sukra. His works are the sole guide for politicians—others are worthless."[1] Thus proclaims the *Śukranīti*, the most important creation of medieval Hindu political theory.[2] This *nītiśāstra* or "treatise on public policy" also claims to be the one master science which transcends and embraces all others as a key to the functioning of society and the state.[3] By its use, rulers conquer their enemies and please their subjects.

The mythical author of *Śukranīti* is referred to in Indian literature as one of the great ancient sages who, along with Manu, Vyasa, and others, wrote works on political science.

He is known as Usanas or Sukra, the regent of the planet Venus and priest of the Asuras or demons.[4] It would seem, however, that the present *Śukranīti* is the product of a late medieval writer who used the name of Sukra to lend authority to his own treatise. Despite the presumed existence of an early classic work credited to Sukra and mentioned by both Kamandaka and Vyasa, it is most improbable that the *Śukranīti* we know is this same ancient treatise.[5]

We find the following description of a firearm in the *Śukranīti*: "A cylindrical instrument . . . which has fire produced by the pressure of a mechanism, contains stone and powder at the origin, has a good wooden handle at the butt, has an inside hole the breadth of the middle finger, holds gunpowder in the interior and has a strong rod."[6] Since modern scholars deny the existence of guns or gunpowder in ancient India, the *Śukranīti* is considered to be of comparatively recent date.[7] Prasad concludes that it was composed about the thirteenth century but that the present version contains materials at late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[8]

Although the *Śukranīti* is distinguished from other late works by its originality in certain minor fields, it represents primarily "the last summing up of Hindu political thought, . . . borrowing freely . . . from the *Mahābhārata*, Manu, and even Kamandaka, and thus indirectly from Kautilya."[9] It stands, therefore, in the historic Hindu political tradition, despite its creation in a period when much of India had fallen under foreign rule, and it shows indeed little or no influence of the Moslem conquerors.[10]

The Sukraniti

ON GOVERNMENT

Other Shastras treat of certain specialized departments of human activity and hence can be useful only in limited cases, whereas *nītiśāstra* is useful to all and in all cases and is the means for the preservation of human society.[11] As *nītiśāstra* is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment, and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully peruse it. Without *nīti,* or the system of political science, the stability of no man's affairs can be maintained—just as without food the physical body of men cannot be maintained and preserved. *Nītiśāstra* conduces to the desires and interests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince, since he is the lord of all men and things. Just as in the case of sick persons who take unprescribed food, the diseases come immediately and do not delay in manifesting themselves, so also in the case of the princes who are unschooled in the principles of *nītiśāstra,* the enemies make their appearance at once and do not delay in declaring themselves.

The two primary functions of the king are protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders; these two cannot be achieved without *nītiśāstra*. The absence of *nītiśāstra* is always dangerous to a king like a vessel which leaks. It multiplies and satisfies enemies and causes the diminution of strength and efficiency. The man who by severing obedience to *nīti* becomes independent and follows his own inclinations without reference to it has misery for his lot. Service to a lord in an independent way, without following *nīti*, is like licking the keen edge of the sword. The king who follows *nīti* is well respected, but the king who does not follow it is not honored. Where there are both *nīti* and power there flourishes all-round prosperity.

Through fear of the punishment meted out by the king, each man gets into the habit of following his own Dharma or duty. The person who practices his own duty and sticks to it can become powerful and influential in this world. Without strict adherence to one's own walk in life there can be no happiness. Practicing one's own duty is the paramount penance. Even the gods minister to the wants of him by whom this practice of one's own duty is increased among men. What to say of human beings? The king should make the subjects acquire the habits of performing their duties by the use of his terrible scepter. And he himself should practice his own religion, or his influence will be on the wane.

Not by birth are the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, and Mlechchha separated, but by virtues and works.[12] Are all descended from Brahma to be called Brahman? Neither through color nor through ancestors can the spirit, worthy

of a Brahman, be generated. The Brahman is so called because of his virtue—he is habitually a worshipper of the gods with knowledge, practices, and prayers, and he is peaceful, restrained, and kind. The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained, and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called Kshatriya. Those who are experts in sales and purchases, who ever live by commerce, who are tenders of cattle, and who cultivate lands are called Vaisyas in this world. Those men of the lower order who are servants and followers of the twice-born, who are bold, peaceful and have mastered their senses, and who are drivers of the plough, drawers of wood and grass are called Sudras. Those who have deserted practicing their own duties, who are unkind and troublesome to others, and who are very excitable, envious, and foolish are Mlechchhas.[13]

The kingdom is an organism of seven limbs—the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasurer, the State, the Fort, and the Army. Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the King or Sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasurer is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms, and the State is the legs.[14]

Discipline is the chief thing to the king. This comes through the dictates or precepts of Shastras. This gives mastery over the senses, and one who has mastered the senses, acquires the Shastras. The king should first provide discipline to himself, then to his sons, then to ministers, then to servants, then to the subjects. He should never display his ability in only advising others.

One should bring to bay or discipline, by the hook of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of enjoyable things. The mind, covetous of the meat of enjoyable things, sends forth the senses. So one should carefully check the mind, for when the mind is controlled, the senses are conquered. How can the man who is unable to subdue one's mind master the world extending to the sea? The king whose heart is agitated by enjoyable things gets into a trap like the elephant. Sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell—each of these five alone is sufficient to cause destruction. The deer which is innocent feeds upon grass and blades, and can roam far and wide, seeks death—attracted by the music of the tempter. The elephant whose stature is like the peak of a mountain, and who can uproot trees with ease, is however caught because of the pleasure of contact with the female. The moth gets death by falling suddenly into the lamp because of its mad passion through gratification of its eyes by the light of the wick. The fish, though it dives into unfathomed depths and lives in distant abodes, tastes the baited hook and dies. The bee which has the power of cutting holes, and can fly with wings, gets, however, caught within a lotus because of its desire for smell. These poison-like *viṣāyas* are each capable of ruining men. Cannot the five combined cause destruction?"[15]

Indulgence in gambling, women, and drinking, when undue, produces many disasters; but when within due limits, gives rise to wealth, sons, and intelligence. Nala, Yudhisthira, and other kings were ruined through honest gambling, but gambling with dishonesty is productive of

much wealth to those who know it."[18] Even the name of females is captivating and agitates the mind. What to speak of the effect of the sight of those whose brows are luxuriously decorated? Whom does not a woman subdue, who is skilled in the art of secret conversation, who talks soft and sweet. and whose eyes are bright? Of the man who drinks wine excessively, intelligence disappears. Wine, drunk according to some measure, increases the talent, clears the intelligence, augments patience, and makes the mind steadfast; but otherwise it is ruinous. Sensuousness and anger are like wine and should be duly used—the former in the maintenance of the family, the latter against enemies.

The most miserable king is he whom the subjects look upon with terror and disrespect, and who is deserted by both rich and virtuous men. The king who is much attached to actors, musicians, prostitutes, athletes, oxen, and lower castes deserves ignominy and is exposed to enemies. The king who is inimical to the intelligent, who is pleased with cheats, and does not understand his own faults, creates his own destruction. When the king does not pardon offenses, but is a great punisher, is the robber of men's wealth, and oppresses the subjects on hearing of his own faults, the society gets disturbed and disorganized. By making his secret spies compile information as to who are accusing his conduct, in what light ministers and others are viewing it, the extent of satisfaction and discontent owing to his virtues and vices—hearing everything in secret, the king deserving praise should always know his own faults and correct them, but never persecute the people.

ON LAW

The following laws are always to be promulgated by the king among his subjects: Toward slaves and servants, toward wife and children or toward the disciple no one obeying the royal command should be harsh and cruel in words. Dishonesty must not be practiced by anyone with regard to the system and standard of weights and measurements, currency, extracts, some kinds of metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, oil, ground substances, and other things.[17] Nor must writings or statements be forced, bribes be accepted, or the interests of the master consciously damaged. One should never give protection to men of wicked activities, thieves, bad characters, malicious and offensive persons, as well as other wrongdoers. Insult and jokes should never be dealt out toward parents and other respectable seniors, as well as toward men of learning and virtuous character. Discord must never be created between husband and wife, master and servant, brother and brother, preceptor and pupil, as well as between father and sons. One must never obstruct the tanks, wells, parks, or boundaries, or place hindrances to the use of religious houses, temples, and roads, nor must anyone interfere with the movements of the poor, the blind, and the deformed.

Without the permission of the king the following things are not to be done by the subjects: gambling, drinking, hunting, use of arms, sales and purchases of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold, jewels, intoxicants and poisons, distillation of wines, the drawing up of deeds indicating a sale, gift, or loan, and

medical practice. Nor should one ever do the following things: serious cursing, acceptance of pledges, promulgation of new social rules, defamation of castes, receipt of unowned and lost goods, disclosure of state secrets, and discussion about the king's demerits. So also one must never even in mind commit the following actions: forsaking one's own religion, untruth, adultery, perjury, forgery, secret acceptance of gifts, realization of more than the fixed revenue, thieving, violence, and enterprise against the master. One should never commit violence or aggression on anybody in the matter of remuneration, duties, or revenues by increasing them through sleight or strength. All measurements have been definitely fixed and ascertained by the king. All the subjects should try to be qualified in the performance of meritorious actions. When a violence has been committed the aggressor must be caught and handed over to the state.

For fear of poisons, the king should examine his food through monkeys and cocks. At the very sight of poisoned food, drakes limp, bees hum, peacocks dance, cocks cry, cranes get intoxicated, monkeys pass stools, rats become excited, birds vomit. Thus the food is to be tested. He should take meals, having six, not simply two or three, tastes, not tasteless, nor overtasteful, not pungent, not excessively sweet or acid.[18]

He should hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people. In parks and places of entertainment he should carefully indulge in enjoyments with the people, women, actors, musicians, poets, and magicians. He should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots, and other conveyances. And he should learn

as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers. He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds, and other animals of the forest and in the course of the hunting should kill the wild ones. The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim, fearlessness, and agility in the use of arms and weapons, but cruelty is the great defect. He should every night hear from the secret spies and informers the opinions, sentiments, and demonstrations of the subjects and officers, the departments of administration, enemies, soldiers, members, relatives, and the females of the inner apartments.

There should ever be only one leader in a state, never many. And the king should never try to leave any situation without a leader. If in the king's family there be many males, the eldest among them is to become king; the others are to be his assistants and auxiliaries. More than all other assistants, these members of the aristocracy help forward the interests of the state. If the eldest, however, is deaf, leprous, dumb, blind, or a eunuch he will not be eligible for the throne; the king's brother, or the eldest son's son will be eligible. And the eldest son's junior, i.e., the king's second son or the son of the king's brother, will get the throne. In the absence of seniors the juniors are heirs to the throne. Unity of opinion among the heirs is good for the king. Differences among them are dangerous to both the state and the family. Hence the king should arrange for these heirs the same kind of comforts and enjoyments as for himself, and should be careful to satisfy them with umbrellas and thrones.[19]

By the partition of kingdoms there can arise no good.

Rather, the kingdom divided into parts is exposed to the enemies. He should station the heirs in various quarters by paying them one-fourth of the royal revenues or make them governors of provinces. He may appoint them as the heads of cows, elephants, horses, camels, treasure, etc. The mother and the lady who is of the same rank as the mother should be appointed in charge of the kitchen. Cognate kinsmen and brothers-in-law are to be ever appointed in the military department. Those who are superiors and friends are to be made critics of one's own faults. The females are to be appointed in the overseeing of clothes, ornaments, and vessels. But he himself must reflect upon and seal all in succession.

The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country. The king should engage near him the services of the soldiers who are to precede and follow him, gaudily dressed, adept in the rules of etiquette and morality and supplied with useful missiles and naked weapons.[30] The king should tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people. Does not even the dog look like a king when it has ascended a royal conveyance?

The king must personally inspect every year the cities and districts and provinces and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers, and deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people. He should take the side not of his officers but of the subjects.[31] He should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men. He should privately punish the minister when he is found to have gone astray more than once and dismiss him who by nature commits offenses.

Of the rulers who do not act according to *nīti* the king should take away both the kingdom as well as all property. Courts should always be established in the territories of conquered rulers, and he should give them pensions according to their character. He should not leave his own position but conquer his enemies through *nīti*. Teeth, nails, hair, and kings do not look well when taken out of their proper situations.

Part Two

MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

VII

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

> Should it not be our aim to build on the foundations of our own accumulated lore and inherited stock of capacities and temperament, a stately and enduring structure with the full aid of Western learning and science and thus to develop our own soul?
>
> RAMASWAMI AIYAR

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST brought to an end the creative period of classic Indian political thought.[1] Sukra's *Nītiśāstra* is the last major work and it, as we have seen, draws heavily upon the ancient traditional literature.[2] With the collapse of the Mogul political system in the eighteenth century, a resurgence of Hindu political power in the militant nationalism of the Maratha confederacy gave promise of becoming the sovereign power over all India. But no important intellectual revival accompanied the Hindu political revival.

Not until the nineteenth century, when the British had established foreign control after the Maratha decline, did

a strong current of creative thought begin to flow again in the cultural life of India—a movement that may be designated "The Indian Renaissance."[3] This rebirth of learning is associated with modern education established by the British in India. The British provided their administration with trained civil servants and at the same time propagated a common language that could be used for commercial and political purposes throughout the land.[4] The creation of a program for higher education in English was not entirely a one-sided imposition. Until Macaulay broke the stalemate in 1835, the British themselves were deadlocked on the issue of teaching in English or in the Indian classical language. At the same time, many progressive Hindus were demanding English as a key to the resources of Western civilization, even against British opposition.[5]

The Mohammedans, at first, boycotted the whole movement on the ground that it was a scheme to Christianize the population and destroy the foundations of Moslem religious life.[6] As a result, the Hindu community was the chief beneficiary of the new program, not only in the matter of public employment but in relation to the intellectual revival created directly or indirectly by Western contacts.

This revival was brought about in two ways. First, there came the work of such pioneers as Sir William Jones, who translated the *Code of Manu,* James Prinsep, who unraveled the ancient alphabets, and Max Muller, who first edited the complete text of the Rig-Veda. These and other scholars, Indian and European, rediscovered and made available to all educated Indians the great works of Sanskrit literature, formerly known only in part even to Brahman pundits.[7]

Second, Western institutions and ideas, introduced by English administration and literature, provided a challenge to many aspects of Indian society. Not only were such social customs as Suttee and child marriage brought into question, but the political and legal traditions of the country also were reëxamined.

It was natural that the province of Bengal should have played a leading role in the new educational movement. Calcutta was the old center of British rule. The first schools, colleges, and newspapers were established there and at nearby Serampore.[8] And the energetic citizenry of this comparatively rich commercial and agricultural area was eager to take advantage of opportunities provided by the new schools. Much of the leadership of the Indian reform movement was made up of Bengalis who, with Tilak and others of western India, led the struggle for independence.[9]

Chief among these pioneer leaders was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833), who is recognized by many as the father of modern political thought in India. He is better known as the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, the remarkable nineteenth-century movement of reformed and militant Hinduism.[10] But his work in campaigning for and establishing English-language schools and newspapers and his powerful advocacy of judicial and administrative reforms deserve equal recognition.[11] The disciples and later followers of Roy included such eminent names as Ranade, Gokhale, and the Tagores. Many brilliant students came in contact with the new teachings at the famous Hindu college in Calcutta, which Roy himself had helped establish.[12]

What were these teachings? Sarma sums up their essence

as follows: "He struck a note of universalism which is heard again and again in the teachings of the Hindu prophets of the new age. It is a note we hear in Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, in Swami Vivekananda, in Justice Ranade, in Rabindranath Tagore, in Mahatma Gandhi, in Sri Aurobindo, and in Professor Radhakrishnan. In fact, it is the most distinguishing note of the Hindu Renaissance of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is the fulfillment and realization of the universalism of the Upanishads."[13] Whereas in the religious field, Roy emphasized the values latent in all the great creeds, in the political sphere he stressed freedom from outworn and perverted restrictions. In his political reforms he announced his intention to restore to India her ancient traditions of the Dharma by removing the senseless accretions that had defiled it in later years. Thus, in leading the successful fight against Suttee and other customs, he quotes Manu, Vyasa, and Narada to prove his authority.[14]

Those who carried on Roy's work included Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842–1901). He was a member of the famous Chitpawan Brahman caste that has long played a dominant role in the educational and political life of western India, and he held various administrative and judicial posts in Bombay and Poona. His name is associated primarily with such social reforms as the abolition of child marriage, the development of women's education, and the ending of caste restrictions. His able disciple Gopal Krishna Gokhale worked with him in the activities of the "reform party" of his day, and it was Gokhale whom Mahatma Gandhi regarded as his political teacher.[15]

Somewhat in contrast to the Brahmo Samaj reform, is a movement founded by Dayananda Saraswati (1824–1883) and known as the Arya Samaj.[16] Dayananda rejected the "Brahmos" of his day as persons ignorant of their own Hindu culture and traditions who had fallen under Western influence. His Arya Samaj program stressed Sanskrit education and the authority of the Vedas.[17] He knew no English. Although he contributed much to the nineteenth-century revival of Hinduism, he was opposed by many orthodox Hindus because of his attacks on idol worship and the authority of the Puranas. Dayananda and his movement were primarily religious and did not have the direct political influence exerted by Roy and the Brahmo Samaj. Indirectly, however, his movement strengthened the forces of Hindu nationalism.[18]

Also in opposition to the later Brahmo reformers was Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920), who like Ranade was a Chitpawan Brahman identified with developments in Bombay and Poona. He bitterly opposed the reform efforts of Ranade and Gokhale, partly because he believed that Swaraj, or Indian Independence, should precede reform, and partly because he decried their "Western" attitudes and methods. He attempted to strengthen the national spirit of his countrymen by awakening an appreciation of their native heritage, especially as symbolized by the glories of the seventeenth-century Maratha empire. His brilliant and aggressive newspaper editorship brought him into conflict with the British and resulted in several imprisonments. Long before Gandhi launched his Satyagraha programs in South Africa and India, Tilak had proposed civil disobe-

dience as India's natural method for regeneration and freedom. Because of his fiery career of political agitation and struggle, he is considered "The Father of Indian Nationalism."[19]

We find, therefore, in the modern Hindu political theorist two notable tendencies—on the one hand, the reaffirmation of the ancient Dharma principles and, on the other, an emphasis on reform and universal ideals. In this spirit, Tagore acclaims India's ancient virtues and at the same time pleads for internationalism. In this spirit, Gandhi defends the traditional fourfold caste system and at the same time pleads for civil liberties.

Some have seen in this unique combination of respect for political tradition and sensitivity to the needs for reform a product of the union of English and Hindu culture. As Sen sees it: "The mobile power of European mind struck against the immobile Indian mind. It brought about a renaissance in the mind of India. The universal aspect of knowledge, the distribution of justice irrespective of castes and classes, the acceptance of an active and inquiring mind—all these were the revolutionary doctrines which British rule brought forth in seeking to cement the connection between India and the West."[20] The total effect of the forces of the Indian Renaissance is, from this viewpoint, to establish in the political field a synthesis of the Hindu tradition and the Western spirit of inquiry. In fact, the modern writers stress the belief that, beyond the contrasts of East and West in the sphere of institutions and doctrines, there lies a realm of values common to all humanity.[21]

It may be, however, that the European contribution was not so much the addition of something new, but rather that the changed circumstances acted as a catalytic agent which enabled the dormant forces of ancient Indian culture to reassert themselves after centuries of decay. Foremost among these new circumstances was the unifying factor of British rule, uniting the vast areas of the Indian subcontinent under a single power. Even if it were but to result in kindling Indian nationalism in opposition to foreign rule, the effect on native culture was bound to be intense. Although the reform movements owed much to European ideas, the Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, and Dharmashastras provided a basis for the universalism and the spirit of inquiry underlying the political thought of Modern India.

The aforementioned nineteenth-century writers highlighted the Indian Renaissance. And the great figures of the twentieth century, whose names are symbols in our time, are their direct successors—continuing the movement toward the climax of Independence. Vivekananda was a member of the Brahmo Samaj; Tagore's father was Ram Mohan Roy's successor; Ghose vigorously championed much of the philosophy of Dayananda; and Gandhi, as we have already mentioned, regarded Gokhale as his teacher. The four later thinkers stand out for the depth, completeness, and stimulation of their philosophies. Unlike those who merely disputed the immediate political issues of the day, each of these constructed a system of thought which stands as an intellectual monument in its own right. In each, there are definite religious elements, but, as previously noted, sacred and secular ideas are inextricably intertwined in Indian political

tradition. Nineteenth-century thinkers, such as Roy, Gokhale, and Tilak, share this characteristic with the philosophers of the twentieth century, though this is not true of many recent and contemporary political leaders who have embraced a basically Western outlook. Although by comparison with the practicing politicians and ruling statesmen of India, they were relatively inactive, Vivekananda and the others were by no means operating in a political vacuum. Their ideas were dynamic forces. The power of their doctrines became manifest in the great ground swell of national consciousness that challenged Western domination and culminated with full independence in the year of Gandhi's death.

VIII

THE RULING CLASS: VIVEKANANDA

Whether the leadership of society be in the hands of those who monopolize learning, or wield the power of riches or arms, the source of its power is always the subject masses. By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it sure to become weak.

VIVEKANANDA

NARENDRA NATH DATTA (1863–1902), known to the world as Vivekananda, was born in Calcutta of a Kshatriya family. Early in life he had been attracted to the Brahmo Samaj, the Hindu reform movement founded by Ram Mohan Roy, but he discovered a compelling new interest when he met the renowned Bengali mystic, Ramakrishna. Thereafter, he devoted himself to the latter's doctrines and ideals. Following the death of Ramakrishna in 1886, Datta became a leader of the dynamic organizations known as the Ramakrishna Order and the Ramakrishna Mission. He traveled, wrote, and spoke throughout India, and in 1893,

as Vivekananda, came to America to represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. He toured the United States, where he was in great demand as a public speaker and was acclaimed as a brilliant interpreter of Hindu culture. After visiting Europe he returned home and engaged in a strenuous career of debate, lecturing throughout India and Ceylon. He challenged Indians to a national reawakening through the regeneration of the masses. After a second extended visit to America he again returned to his native land, where he died at the age of thirty-nine.[1]

The following essay of Vivekananda's on modern India echoes the theories of caste rule and political cycles found in the *Mahābhārata:* "Lord Vyasa then said, 'The Kshatriyas will be disinherited of kingdoms and the Sudras will be held in honor in spite of their ungodly views; at this period, discontentment will be rife among the people.' "[2] Although he was thoroughly familiar with Hindu literature, Vivekananda was an avid student of Western philosophy. And, in the vast sweep of his concept of social change, we find, perhaps, a reflection of the evolutionary vision of Herbert Spencer, whose writings held young Datta's attention during his studies at the Scottish Church College in Calcutta.[3] There is also a suggestion of Comte's theories of successive theocratic-military, and industrial states. How prophetic this remarkable essay was may be appreciated by recalling the development of labor movements in the past half-century.

One can hardly fail to sense here the militant power and persuasiveness of Vivekananda's oratory. Europeans as well as Americans were impressed by his ideas and personality.

He pleaded for a new social order which would combine the spiritual culture of the East with the secular progress of the West. In India, he became a symbol of the rising tide of nationalism. His biographer refers to him as one "whose influence was to shake the world and who was to lay the foundation of a new order of things" in India.[4] In Nehru's words, "Vivekananda gave us a measure of self-respect again and roused up our dormant pride in our past."[5]

Modern India

THE CYCLE OF CASTE

According to the prevalence, in greater or lesser degree of the three qualities of Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas, in man, the four castes, the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, are everywhere present at all times, in all civilized societies.[6] By the mighty hand of time, their number and power also vary at different times, in regard to different countries. In some countries the numerical strength or influence of one of these castes may preponderate over another; at some period, one of the classes may be more powerful than the rest. But from a careful study of the history of the world, it appears that, in

conformity to the Law of Nature, the four castes, the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, do, in every society, one after another in succession, govern the world.

Among the Chinese, the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Aryans, the Iranians, the Jews, the Arabs, among all these ancient nations, the supreme power of guiding society is, in the first period of their history, in the hands of the Brahman, or the priest. In the second period, the ruling power is the Kshatriya, that is, either absolute monarchy, or, oligarchical government by a chosen body of men. Among the modern Western nations, with England at their head, this power of controlling society has been, for the first time, in the hands of the Vaisyas, or mercantile communities, made rich through the carrying on of commerce.

I have stated that the four castes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, do, in succession, rule the world. During the period of supreme authority exercised by each of these castes, some acts are accomplished which conduce to the welfare of the people, while others are injurious to them. The foundation of the priestly power rests on intellectual strength, and not on the physical strength of arms. Therefore, with the supremacy of the priestly power, there is a great prevalence of intellectual and literary culture. The priest knows the gods and communicates with them; he is therefore worshiped as a god. Leaving behind the thoughts of the world, he has no longer to devote himself to the earning of his bread by the sweat of his brow. The best and foremost parts of all food and drink are due as offerings to the gods, and of these gods, the visible proxies on earth, are the

priests. It is through their mouths that they partake of the offerings. Knowingly, or unknowingly, society gives the priest abundant leisure, and he can therefore get the opportunity of being meditative in nature and of thinking higher thoughts. Hence the development of wisdom and learning originates first with the supremacy of the priestly power.

There stands the priest between the dreadful lion—the king—on the one hand, and the terrified flock of sheep—the subject people—on the other. The destructive leap of the lion is checked by the controlling rod of spiritual power in the hands of the priest. The flame of the despotic will of the king, maddened in the pride of his wealth and men, is able to burn into ashes everything that comes in his way; but it is only a word from the priest, who has neither wealth nor men behind him but whose sole strength is his spiritual power, that can quench that despotic royal will, as water the fire. With the ascendency of the priestly supremacy, are seen the first advent of civilization, the first victory of the divine nature over the animal, the first conquest of spirit over matter.

There are evils as well. With the growth of life is sown simultaneously the seed of death. Darkness and light always go together. There are great evils, indeed, which, if not checked in proper time, lead to the ruin of society. That renunciation, self-control, and asceticism of the priest, which, during the period of his ascendency, were devoted to the pursuance of earnest researches of truth, are, on the eve of his decline, employed anew and spent solely in the accumulation of objects of self-gratification and in the extension of privileged superiority over others. That power,

the centralization of which in himself gave him all honor and worship, has now been dragged down from its high heavenly position to the lowest abyss of hell. Having lost sight of the goal, drifting aimless, the priestly power is entangled, like the spider, in the web spun by itself. The chain that has been forged from generation to generation, with the greatest care, to be put on others' feet, is now tightened round its own in a thousand coils, and is thwarting its own movement in hundreds of ways. Caught in the endless thread of the net of infinite rites, ceremonies, and customs, which it spread on all sides, as external means for purification of the body and the mind, with a view to keep society in the iron grasp of these innumerable bonds—the priestly power, thus hopelessly entangled from head to foot, is now asleep in despair! There is no escaping out of it now. Tear the net and the priesthood of the priest is shaken to its foundation! There is implanted in every man, naturally, a strong desire for progress, and those, who, finding that the fulfillment of this desire is an impossibility so long as one is trammeled in the shackles of priesthood, rend this net and take to the profession of other castes in order to earn money thereby—them, the society immediately dispossesses of their priestly rights.

Accumulation of power is as necessary as its diffusion, or rather more so. The accumulation of blood in the heart is an indispensable condition for life—its noncirculation throughout the body means death. For the welfare of society, it is absolutely necessary, at certain times, to have all knowledge and power concentrated in certain families or castes, to the exclusion of others, but that concentrated power is

focused for the time being, only to be scattered broadcast over the whole of society in future. If this diffusion be withheld, the destruction of that society is, without doubt, near at hand. The king is like the lion; in him are present both the good and evil propensities of the lord of beasts. Never for a moment his fierce nails are held back from tearing to pieces the heart of innocent animals living on herbs and grass, to allay his thirst for blood, when occasion arises; again, the poet says—though himself stricken with old age and dying with hunger, the lion never kills the weakest fox that throws itself in his arms for protection. If the subject classes, for a moment, stand as impediments in the way of the gratification of the senses of the royal lion, their death knell is inevitably tolled; if they humbly bow down to his commands, they are perfectly safe. Not only so. Not to speak of ancient days, even in modern times, no society can be found in any country, where the effectiveness of individual self-sacrifice for the good of the many, and of the oneness of purpose and endeavor actuating every member of the society for the common good of the whole, has been fully realized. Hence the necessity of the kings, who are the creations of the society itself. They are the centers where all the forces of society, otherwise loosely scattered about, are made to converge and from which they start and course through the body politic and animate society.

As during the Brahmanical supremacy, the first stage was the awakening of the first impulse for search after knowledge, and later, the continual and careful fostering of the growth of that impulse still in its infancy—so, during the Kshatriya supremacy, a strong desire for pleasure pursuits

made its appearance at the first stage, and later sprang up inventions and developments of arts and sciences, as the means for its gratification. Thousands of intelligent men left the toilsome task of the plowman and turned their attention to the new field of fine arts, where they could display the finer play of their intellect in the less laborious and easier ways. Villages lost their importance, cities rose in their stead.

As the priest is busy about centralizing all knowledge and learning at a common center, to wit, himself, so the king is ever up and doing in collecting all the earthly powers and focusing them in a central point—his own self. Of course, both are beneficial to society. At one time they are both needed for the common good of society, but that is only at its infant stage. But if attempts be made, when society has passed its infant stage and reached its vigorous youthful condition, to clothe it by force with the dress which suited it in its infancy, and keep it bound within narrow limits, then either it bursts the bonds, by virtue of its own strength and tries to advance, or where it fails to do so, it retraces its footsteps and, by slow degrees, returns to its primitive uncivilized condition.

The king, the center of the forces of the aggregate of his subjects, soon forgets that those forces are only stored with him so that he may increase and give them back a thousandfold in their potency, with the result that they may spread over the whole community for its good. Attributing all godship to himself, in his pride, like the king Vena he looks upon other people as wretched specimens of humanity who should grovel before him; any opposition to his will, whether good or bad, is a great sin on the part of his sub-

VIVEKANANDA

jects.[7] Hence oppression steps into the place of protection—sucking their blood in place of preservation. If the society is weak and debilitated, it silently suffers all ill-treatment at the hands of the king, and as the natural consequence, both the king and his people go down and down and fall into the most degraded state, and thus become an easy prey to any nation stronger than themselves. Where the society is healthy and strong, there soon follows a fierce contest between the king and his subjects, and by its reaction and convulsion, are flung away the scepter and the crown, and the throne and the royal paraphernalia become like past curiosities preserved in the museum galleries.

As the result of this contest—as its reaction—is the appearance of the mighty power of the Vaisya, before whose angry glance the crowned heads, the lords of heroes, tremble like an aspen leaf on their thrones—whom the poor as well as the prince humbly follow in vain expectation of the golden jar in his hands, that like Tantalus' fruit always recedes from the grasp.

The Brahman said, "Learning is the power of all powers; that learning is dependent upon me, I possess that learning, so the society must follow my bidding"; for some days such was the case. The Kshatriya said, "But for the power of my sword, where would you be, O Brahman, with all your power of lore? You would in no time be wiped off the face of the earth. It is I alone that am the superior." Out flew the flaming sword from the jingling scabbard—society humbly recognized it with bended head. Even the worshiper of learning was the first to turn into the worshiper of the king. The Vaisya is saying, "You, madmen! what you call the

effulgent all-pervading deity, is here in my hand, the ever-shining Gold, the Almighty Sovereign. Behold, through its grace, I am also equally all-powerful. O Brahman! even now, I shall buy through its grace all your wisdom, learning, prayers, and meditation. And, O great king! your sword, arms, valor, and prowess will soon be employed, through the grace of this, my Gold, in carrying out my desired objects. Do you see those lofty and extensive mills? Those are my hives. See, how swarms of million bees, the Sudras, are incessantly gathering honey for those hives; do you know for whom? For me, this me, who in due course of time squeeze out from behind every drop of it for my own use and profit."

As during the supremacy of the Brahman and the Kshatriya, there is a centralization of learning and advancement of civilization, so the result of the supremacy of the Vaisya is accumulation of wealth. The power of the Vaisya lies in the possession of that coin, the charm of whose chinking sound works with an irresistible fascination on the minds of the four castes. The Vaisya is always in fear lest the Brahman swindles him out of this, his only possession, and lest the Kshatriya usurps it by virtue of his superior strength of arms. For self-preservation, the Vaisya commands the money; the exorbitant interest that he can exact for its use by others, as with a lash in his hand, is his powerful weapon which strikes terror in the heart of all. By the power of his money, he is always busy in curbing the royal power. That the royal power may not anyhow stand in the way of the inflow of his riches, the merchant is ever watchful. But, for all that, he has never the least wish that the power should pass on from the kingly to the Sudra class.

To what country does not the merchant go? Though himself ignorant, he, in carrying on his trade, transplants the learning, wisdom, art, and science of one country to another. The wisdom, civilization, and arts that accumulated in the heart of the social body, during the Brahman and the Kshatriya supremacies, are being diffused in all directions by the arteries of commerce to the different market places of the Vaisya. But for the rising of this Vaisya power, who would have carried today the culture, learning, acquirements, and article of food and luxury of one end of the world to the other?

And where are they, through whose physical labor only are possible, the influence of the Brahman, the prowess of the Kshatriya, and the fortune of the Vaisya? What is their history, who, being the real body of society, are designated, at all times, in all countries, as "they—the base-born"? For whom kind India prescribed the mild punishments, "Cut out his tongue, chop off his flesh," and others of like nature, for such a grave offense as any attempt on their part to gain a share of the knowledge and wisdom monopolized by her higher classes—those "moving corpses" of India, and the "beasts of burden" of other countries—the Sudras—what is their lot in life? What shall I say of India? Let alone her Sudra class—her Brahmans, to whom belonged the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, are now the foreign professors, her Kshatriyas the ruling Englishman, and Vaisyas too, the English, in whose bone and marrow is the instinct of trade; so that, only the Sudra-ness—the-beast-of-burden-ness—is now left with the Indians themselves. A cloud of impenetrable darkness has at present equally enveloped us

all. Now there is neither firmness of purpose nor boldness of enterprise, neither courage of heart, nor strength of mind, neither aversion to maltreatments by others, nor dislike for slavery, neither love in the heart, nor hope, nor manliness; but what we have in India are only deep-rooted envy and strong antipathy against one another, morbid desire to ruin by hook or by crook the weak, and doglike, to lick the feet of the strong. Now the highest satisfaction consists in the display of wealth and power, devotion in self-gratification, wisdom in the accumulation of transitory objects. Yoga consists in hideous diabolical practices, work in the slavery of others, civilization in base imitation of foreign nations, eloquence in the use of abusive language, the merit of literature in extravagant flatteries of the rich or in the diffusion of ghastly obscenities! What to speak separately of the distinct Sudra class of such a land, where the whole population has virtually come down to the level of the Sudra?

The Sudras of countries other than India have become, it seems, a little awake; but they are wanting in proper education, and have only the mutual hatred of men of their own class—a trait common to Sudras. What avails it if they greatly outnumber the other classes? That unity, by which ten men collect the strength of a million, is yet far away from the Sudra; hence, according to the law of nature, the Sudras invariably form the subject race.

NEW INDIA AND THE WEST

In spite of the spread of education in the West, there is a great hindrance in the way of the rising of the Sudra class, and that is the recognition of caste as determined by the

inherence of more or less good, or bad, qualities. *By this* very qualitative caste system which obtained in India in ancient days, the Sudra class was kept down, bound hand and foot. In the first place, scarcely any opportunity was given to the Sudra for the accumulation of wealth, or the earning of proper knowledge and education; to add to this disadvantage, if ever a man of extraordinary parts and genius were born of the Sudra class, the influential higher sections of the society forthwith showered titular honors on him and lifted him up to their own circle. His wealth and the power of his wisdom were employed for the benefit of an alien caste—and his own caste people reaped no benefit of his attainments; and not only so, the good-for-nothing people, the scum and refuse of the higher castes, were cast off and thrown into the Sudra class to swell their number.

In modern India, no one born of Sudra parents, be he a millionaire or a great Pandit, has ever the right to leave his own society, with the result that the power of his wealth, intellect, or wisdom, remaining confined within his own caste limits, is being employed for the betterment of his own community. This hereditary caste system of India, being thus unable to overstep its own bounds, is slowly but surely conducing to the advancement of the people moving within the same circle. The improvement of the lower classes of India will go on, in this way, so long as she will be under a Government dealing with its subjects irrespective of their caste and position.

Whether the leadership of society be in the hands of those who monopolize learning, or wield the power of riches or arms, the source of its power is always the subject masses.

By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it sure to become weak. But such is the strange irony of fate, such is the queer working of Maya,[8] that they from whom this power is directly or indirectly drawn, by fair means or foul—by deceit, stratagem, force, or by voluntary gift—they soon cease to be taken into account by the leading class. When in course of time, the priestly power totally estranged itself from the subject masses—the real dynamo of its power—it was overthrown by the then kingly power taking its stand on the strength of the subject people; again the kingly power, judging itself to be perfectly independent, created a gaping chasm between itself and the subject people, only to be itself destroyed, or become a mere puppet in the hands of the Vaisyas, who now succeeded in securing a relatively greater coöperation of the mass of the people. The Vaisyas have now gained their end; so, they no longer deign to count on help from the subject people, and are trying their best to dissociate themselves from them; consequently, here is being sown the seed of the destruction of this power as well.

The present Government of India has certain evils attendant on it, and there are some very great and good parts in it as well. Of highest good is this, that after the fall of the Pataliputra empire till now, India was never under the guidance of such a powerful machinery of Government as the British, wielding the scepter throughout the length and breadth of the land.[9] And, under this Vaisya supremacy, thanks to the strenuous enterprise natural to the Vaisya, as the objects of commerce are being brought from one end of the world to another, so at the same time as its natural

sequence, the ideas and thoughts of different countries are forcing their way into the very bone and marrow of India. Of these ideas and thoughts, some are really most beneficial to her, some are harmful, while others disclose the ignorance and inability of the foreigners to determine what is truly good for the inhabitants of this country.

But, piercing through the mass of whatever good or evil there may be, is seen rising the sure emblem of India's future prosperity—that as the result of the action and reaction between her own old national ideals, on the one hand, and the newly-introduced strange ideals of foreign nations, on the other, she is slowly and gently awakening from her long deep sleep—awakening through her friction with outside nations; and as the result of this little awakening is the appearance, to a certain extent, of free and independent thought in modern India.

On one side, is modern Western science, dazzling the eyes with the brilliancy of myriad suns, and driving in the chariot of hard and fast facts collected by the application of tangible powers direct in their incision; on the other, are the hopeful and strengthening traditions of India's ancient forefathers, in the days when she was at the zenith of her glory—traditions that have been brought out of the pages of her history by the great sages. On one side, rank materialism, plenitude of fortune, accumulation of gigantic power, and intense sense pursuits have through foreign literature caused a tremendous stir; on the other, through the confounding din of all these discordant sounds, she hears, in low yet unmistakable accents, the cries of her ancient gods, cutting her to the quick. On one side, is the independence of Western

societies based on self-interest; on the other, is the extreme self-sacrifice of the Aryan society. In this violent conflict, is it strange that Indian society should be tossed up and down? Of the West, the goal is individual independence; the language, money-making education; the means, politics; of India, the goal is Moksha,[10] the language, the Veda; the means, renunciation. For a time, Modern India thinks as it were—I am ruining this worldly life of mine in vain expectation of uncertain spiritual welfare hereafter, which has spread its fascination over me; and again, lo! spellbound she listens—"Here, in this world of death and change, O man, where is thy happiness?"

On one side, New India is saying, "We should have full freedom in the selection of husband and wife; because, the marriage in which are involved the happiness and misery of all our future life, we must have the right to determine, according to our own free will." On the other, Old India is dictating, "Marriage is not for sense enjoyment, but to perpetuate the race. This is the Indian conception of marriage. By the producing of children, you are contributing to, and responsible for, the future good or evil of the society. Hence, society has the right to dictate whom you shall marry and whom you shall not. That form of marriage obtains in society which is conducive most to its well-being; do you give up your desire of individual pleasure for the good of the many."

On one side, New India is saying, "If we only adopt Western ideas, Western language, Western food, Western dress, and Western manners, we shall be as strong and powerful as the Western nations"; on the other, Old India is saying,

"Fools! By imitation, other's ideas never become one's own—nothing, unless earned, is your own. Does the ass in the lion's skin become the lion?"

Have we not then to learn anything from the West? Must we not needs try and exert ourselves for better things? Are we perfect? Yes, learn we must many things from the West—but there are fears as well. O India, this is your terrible danger. The spell of imitating the West is getting such a strong hold upon you, that what is good or what is bad, is no longer decided by reason, judgment, discrimination, or reference to the Shastras.

The Western ladies move freely everywhere—therefore, that is good; they choose for themselves their husbands—therefore, that is the highest step of advancement; the Westerners disapprove of our dress, decorations, food, and ways of living—therefore, they must be very bad; the Westerners condemn image worship as sinful—surely then, image worship is the greatest sin, there is no doubt of it! The Westerners say that worshiping a single deity is fruitful of the highest spiritual good—therefore, let us throw our gods and goddesses into the river Ganges! The Westerners hold caste distinctions to be obnoxious—therefore, let all the different castes be jumbled into one! The Westerners say that child marriage is the root of all evils—therefore, that is also very bad, of a certainty it is! We are not discussing here, whether these customs deserve countenance or rejection; but if the mere disapproval of the Westerners be the measure of the abominableness of our manners and customs, then, it is our duty to raise our emphatic protest against it.

O India! With this mere echoing of others, with this base

imitation of others, with this dependence on others, this slavish weakness, this vile detestable cruelty—wouldst thou, with these provisions only, scale the highest pinnacle of civilization and greatness? Forget not—that thy social order is but the reflex of the Infinite Universal Motherhood; forget not—that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper, are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers. Thou brave one, be bold, take courage, be proud that thou art an Indian, and proudly proclaim, "I am an Indian—every Indian is my brother." Say, "The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian, is my brother.'"

IX

THE TRUE FREEDOM: TAGORE

> We must never forget in the present day that those people who have got their political freedom are not necessarily free, they are merely powerful.
>
> TAGORE

AMONG THE LEADERS of the nineteenth-century Brahmo Samaj reform movement was Debendranath Tagore. The youngest of his seven sons, Rabindranath (1861–1941), is the most renowned of all the great Tagore family. He was brought up in the unconventional atmosphere of his father's Calcutta home, where family members took an active part in the liberal political, religious, and literary movements of Bengal. By the time he was seventeen he had published several successful works of prose and poetry, and during his long and active life he managed to produce twenty-five volumes of poetry, five novels, fifteen plays, five volumes of essays—besides other writings. One of the countless honors accorded him was the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913.[1]

Although Tagore is known primarily for his poetical genius, he is none the less a major political figure of modern India. The partition of Bengal Province in 1905 swept him into the maelstrom of Indian politics where he participated vigorously in the agitation against the British. Following two years of public speaking and political writing, he retired—disillusioned by the motives and methods he encountered in public life. He rejected the violent efforts at revolutionary reform as well as the class divisions among his people.[2] Nevertheless, his reforming zeal remained strong, and in 1919 he renounced his knighthood because of the massacre of Indians by British troops at Amritsar in the Punjab. He stood throughout his life as a symbol of humanity, tolerance, and freedom in Indian and world political issues.

What were the influences behind Tagore? First was the example of his father and other members of his family. As secretary of the British-Indian Association, Debendranath had sent the famous petition of 1852 to the British Parliament requesting administrative reforms for India. Rabindranath Tagore was also deeply impressed by Ram Mohan Roy whom he considered the "gallant, unflinching standard bearer" of the new India.[3] He was, of course, influenced by liberal European ideas, both directly through Western literature and indirectly through his Indian contemporaries and the movements they represented. But the deepest springs of his inspiration go back to the traditional teachings of the Upanishads and to the doctrines of such Indian leaders as Chaitanya and Kabir.[4]

In the following essay we see reflections of the above tra-

ditions. This is apparent especially in the insistence upon the free functioning of all components of society and state, and the rejection of government as exclusive power. Tagore's position is thus in harmony not only with the Hindu concept of Dharma as the guiding force in the state but also with the conclusions of such modern theorists as MacIver. Indian caste and social traditions are explained and criticized in these terms.

Tagore was in a real sense a world citizen. The university which he founded at Santiniketan in Bengal was dedicated to his ideals of world-wide freedom.[5] He traveled extensively throughout his long life both in Asia and the West, where he was entertained by kings and presidents. He therefore knew the West and admired its magnificent progress, but turned away from its power and materialism. "My experience in the West," he wrote in 1922, "has impressed me with the truth that real freedom is of the mind and spirit; it can never come to us from outside."[6]

Nationalism

INDIA'S PROBLEM

Our real problem in India is not political. It is social. This is a condition not only prevailing in India, but among all nations. I do not believe in an exclusive political interest. Politics in the West have dominated Western ideals, and we in India are trying to imitate you. We have to remember that in Europe, where peoples had their racial unity from the beginning, and where natural resources were insufficient for the inhabitants, the civilization has naturally taken the character of political and commercial aggressiveness. For on the one hand they had no internal complications, and on the other they had to deal with neighbors who were strong and rapacious. To have perfect combination among themselves and a watchful attitude of animosity against others was taken as the solution of their problems. In former days they organized and plundered, in the present age the same spirit continues—and they organize and exploit the whole world.

But from the earliest beginnings of history, India has had

her own problem constantly before her—it is the race problem. Each nation must be conscious of its mission and we, in India, must realize that we cut a poor figure when we are trying to be political, simply because we have not yet been finally able to accomplish what was set before us by our providence.

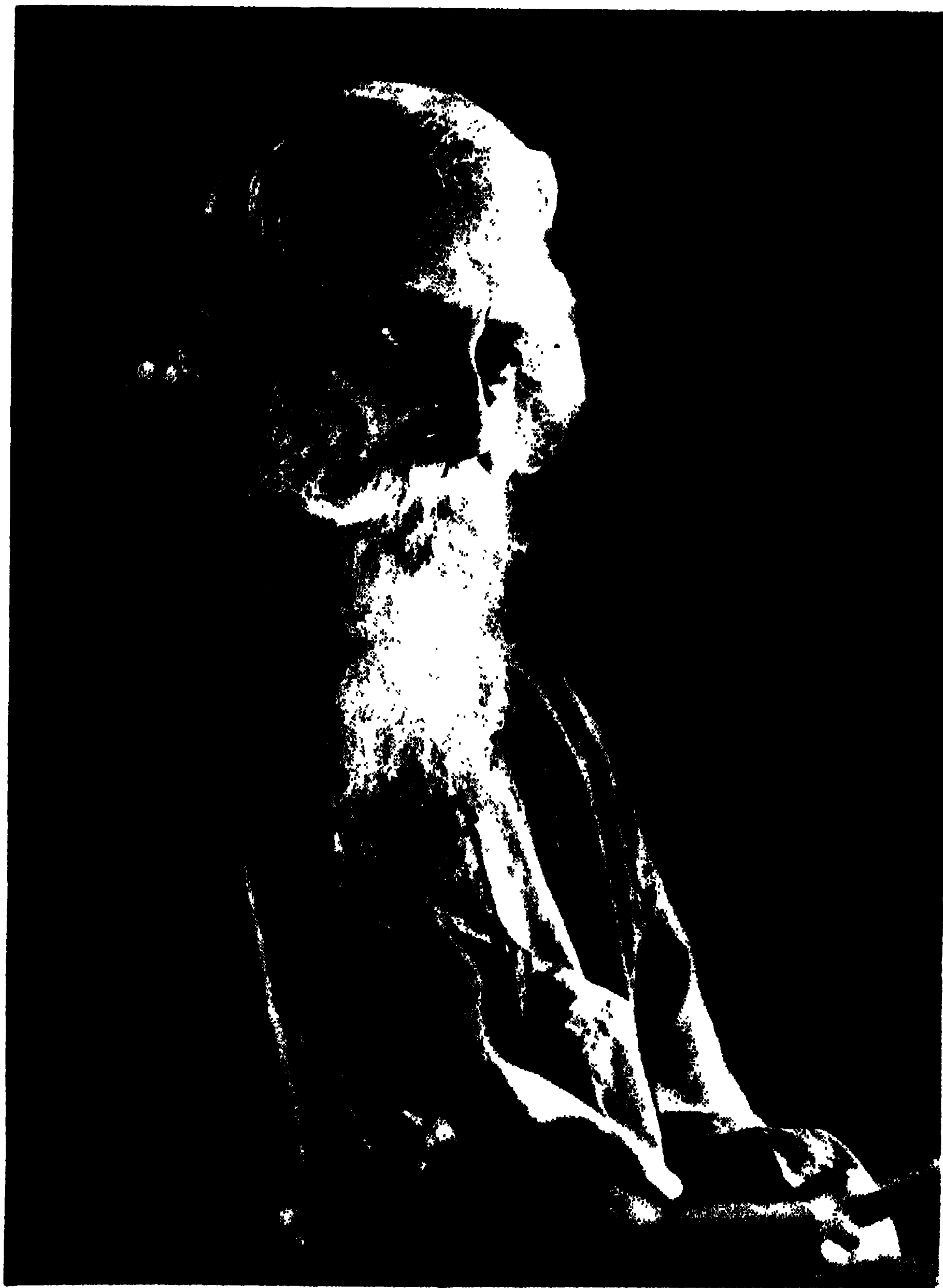
This problem of race unity which we have been trying to solve for so many years has likewise to be faced in America. Many people ask me what is happening as to the caste distinctions in India. But when this question is asked me, it is usually done with a superior air. And I feel tempted to put the same question to our American critics with a slight modification, "What have you done with the Red Indian and the Negro?" For you have not got over your attitude of caste toward them. You have used violent methods to keep aloof from other races, but until you have solved the question in America, you have no right to question India.

In spite of our great difficulty, however, India has done something. She has tried to make an adjustment of races, to acknowledge the real differences between them where these exist, and yet seek for some basis of unity. This basis has come through our saints, like Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, and others, preaching one God to all races of India.[7]

In finding the solution of our problem we shall have helped to solve the world problem as well. What India has been, the whole world is now. The whole world is becoming one country through scientific facility. And the moment is arriving when you also must find a basis of unity which is not political. If India can offer to the world her solution, it will be a contribution to humanity. There is only one his-

tory—the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one. And we are content in India to suffer for such a great cause.

I have no hesitation in saying that those who are gifted with the moral power of love and vision of spiritual unity, who have the least feeling of enmity against aliens, and the sympathetic insight to place themselves in the position of others will be the fittest to take their permanent place in the age that is lying before us, and those who are constantly developing their instinct of fight and intolerance of aliens will be eliminated. For this is the problem before us, and we have to prove our humanity by solving it through the help of our higher nature. The gigantic organizations for hurting others and warding off their blows, for making money by dragging others back, will not help us. On the contrary, by their crushing weight, their enormous cost, and their deadening effect upon the living humanity they will seriously impede our freedom in the larger life of a higher civilization.

During the evolution of the Nation the moral culture of brotherhood was limited by geographical boundaries, because at that time those boundaries were true. Now they have become imaginary lines of tradition divested of the qualities of real obstacles. So the time has come when man's moral nature must deal with this great fact with all seriousness or perish. The first impulse of this change of circumstance has been the churning up of man's baser passions of greed and cruel hatred. If this persists indefinitely and armaments go on exaggerating themselves to unimaginable absurdities, and machines and storehouses envelop this fair

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

earth with their dirt and smoke and ugliness, then it will end in a conflagration of suicide. Therefore man will have to exert all his power of love and clarity of vision to make another great moral adjustment which will comprehend the whole world of men and not merely the fractional groups of nationality. The call has come to every individual in the present age to prepare himself and his surroundings for this dawn of a new era when man shall discover his soul in the spiritual unity of all human beings.

If it is given at all to the West to struggle out of these tangles of the lower slopes to the spiritual summit of humanity, then I cannot but think that it is the special mission of America to fulfill this hope of God and man. You are the country of expectation, desiring something else than what is. Europe has her subtle habits of mind and her conventions. But America, as yet, has come to no conclusions. I realize how much America is untrammeled by the traditions of the past, and I can appreciate that experimentalism is a sign of America's youth. The foundation of her glory is in the future, rather than in the past; and if one is gifted with the power of clairvoyance, one will be able to love the America that is to be.

America is destined to justify Western civilization to the East. Europe has lost faith in humanity, and has become distrustful and sickly. America, on the other hand, is not pessimistic or blasé. You know, as a people, that there is such a thing as a better and a best; and that knowledge drives you on. There are habits that are not merely passive but aggressively arrogant. They are not like mere walls but are like hedges of stinging nettles. Europe has been cul-

tivating these hedges of habits for long years till they have grown round her dense and strong and high. The pride of her traditions has sent its roots deep into her heart. I do not wish to contend that it is unreasonable. But pride in every form breeds blindness at the end. Like all artificial stimulants, its first effect is a heightening of consciousness and then with the increasing dose it muddles it and brings an exultation that is misleading. Europe has gradually grown hardened in her pride of all her outer and inner habits. She not only cannot forget that she is Western, but she takes every opportunity to hurl this fact against others to humiliate them. This is why she is growing incapable of imparting to the East what is best in herself, and of accepting in a right spirit the wisdom that the East has stored for centuries.

In America, national habits and traditions have not had time to spread their clutching roots round your hearts. You have constantly felt and complained of its disadvantages when you compared your nomadic restlessness with the settled traditions of Europe—the Europe which can show the picture of greatness to the best advantage because she can fix it against the background of the Past. But in this present age of transition, when a new era of civilization is sending its trumpet call to all peoples of the world across an unlimited future, this very freedom of detachment will enable you to accept its invitation and to achieve the goal for which Europe began her journey but lost herself midway. For she was tempted out of her path by her pride of power and greed of possession.

A parallelism exists between America and India—the parallelism of welding together into one body various races.

In my country, we have been seeking to find out something common to all races, which will prove their real unity. No nation looking for a mere political or commercial basis of unity will find such a solution sufficient. Men of thought and power will discover the spiritual unity, will realize it, and preach it.

India has never had a real sense of nationalism. Even though from childhood I had been taught that the idolatry of Nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will gain truly their India by fighting against that education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity.

The educated Indian at present is trying to absorb some lessons from history contrary to the lessons of our ancestors. The East, in fact, is attempting to take unto itself a history which is not the outcome of its own living. Japan, for example, thinks she is getting powerful through adopting Western methods, but, after she has exhausted her inheritance, only the borrowed weapons of civilization will remain to her. She will not have developed herself from within.

Europe has her past. Europe's strength therefore lies in her history. We, in India, must make up our minds that we cannot borrow other people's history, and that if we stifle our own, we are committing suicide. When you borrow things that do not belong to your life, they only serve to crush your life. And therefore I believe that it does India no good to compete with Western civilization in its own field. But we shall be more than compensated if, in spite of the insults heaped upon us, we follow our own destiny.

We must, however, know it is providential that the West has come to India. Yet, some one must show the East to the West, and convince the West that the East has her contribution to make in the history of civilization. India is no beggar of the West. And yet even though the West may think she is, I am not for thrusting off Western civilization and becoming segregated in our independence. Let us have a deep association. If Providence wants England to be the channel of that communication, of that deeper association, I am willing to accept it with all humility. I have great faith in human nature, and I think the West will find its true mission. I speak bitterly of Western civilization when I am conscious that it is betraying its trust and thwarting its own purpose. The West must not make herself a curse to the world by using her power for her own selfish needs, but by teaching the ignorant and helping the weak, by saving herself from the worst danger that the strong is liable to incur by making the feeble to acquire power enough to resist her intrusion. And also she must not make her materialism to be the final thing, but must realize that she is doing a service in freeing the spiritual being from the tyranny of matter.

I am not against one nation in particular, but against the general idea of all nations. What is the Nation? It is the aspect of a whole people as an organized power. This organization incessantly keeps up the insistence of the population on becoming strong and efficient. But this strenuous effort after strength and efficiency drains man's energy from his higher nature where he is self-sacrificing and creative. For thereby man's power of sacrifice is diverted from his

ultimate object, which is moral, to the maintenance of this organization, which is mechanical.

Nationalism is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's troubles. And inasmuch as we have been ruled and dominated by a nation that is strictly political in its attitude, we have tried to develop within ourselves, despite our inheritance from the past, a belief in our eventual political destiny.

There are different parties in India, with different ideals. Some are struggling for political independence. Others think that the time has not arrived for that, and yet believe that India should have the rights that the English colonies have. They wish to gain autonomy as far as possible.

In the beginning of our history of political agitation in India there was not that conflict between parties which there is today. In that time there was a party known as the Indian Congress; it had no real program.[8] They had a few grievances for redress by the authorities. They wanted larger representation in the Council House, and more freedom in the municipal government. They wanted scraps of things, but they had no constructive ideal. Therefore I was lacking in enthusiasm for their methods. It was my conviction that what India most needed was constructive work coming from within herself. In this work we must take all risks and go on doing our duties which by right are ours, though in the teeth of persecution; winning moral victory at every step, by our failure, and suffering. We must show those who are over us that we have the strength of moral power in ourselves, the power to suffer for truth. Where we have nothing

to show, we only have to beg. It would be mischievous if the gifts we wish for were granted to us right now, and I have told my countrymen, time and time again, to combine for the work of creating opportunities to give vent to our spirit of self-sacrifice, and not for the purpose of begging.

Once again I draw your attention to the difficulties India has had to encounter and her struggle to overcome them. Her problem was the problem of the world in miniature. India is too vast in its area and too diverse in its races. It is many countries packed in one geographical receptacle. It is just the opposite of what Europe truly is, namely one country made into many. Thus Europe in its culture and growth has had the advantage of the strength of the many, as well as the strength of the one. India, on the contrary, being naturally many, yet adventitiously one, has all along suffered from the looseness of its diversity and the feebleness of its unity. A true unity is like a round globe, it rolls on, carrying its burden easily; but diversity is a many-cornered thing which has to be dragged and pushed with all force. Be it said to the credit of India that this diversity was not her own creation; she has had to accept it as a fact from the beginning of her history. In America and Australia, Europe has simplified her problem by almost exterminating the original population. Even in the present age this spirit of extermination is making itself manifest, in inhospitably shutting out aliens, through those who themselves were aliens in the lands they now occupy. But India tolerated difference of races from the first, and that spirit of toleration has acted all through her history.

INDIA'S SOLUTION

Her caste system is the outcome of this spirit of toleration. For India has all along been trying experiments in evolving a social unity within which all the different peoples could be held together, yet fully enjoying the freedom of maintaining their own differences. The tie has been as loose as possible, yet as close as the circumstances permitted. This has produced something like a United States of a social federation, whose common name is Hinduism.

India has felt that diversity of races there must be and should be, whatever may be its drawback, and you can never coerce nature into your narrow limits of convenience without paying one day very dearly for it. In this India was right; but what she failed to realize was that in human beings differences are not like the physical barriers of mountains, fixed forever—they are fluid with life's flow, they are changing their courses and their shapes and volume.

Therefore in her caste regulations India recognized differences, but not the mutability which is the law of life. In trying to avoid collisions she set up boundaries of immovable walls, thus giving to her numerous races the negative benefit of peace and order but not the positive opportunity of expansion and movement. She accepted nature where it produces diversity, but ignored it where it uses that diversity for its world-game of infinite permutations and combinations. She treated life in all truth where it is manifold, but insulted it where it is ever moving. Therefore Life departed from her social system, and in its place she is worshiping with

all ceremony the magnificent cage of countless compartments that she has manufactured.

The same thing happened where she tried to ward off the collisions of trade interests. She associated different trades and professions with different castes. It had the effect of allaying for good the interminable jealousy and hatred of competition—the competition which breeds cruelty and makes the atmosphere thick with lies and deception. In this, also, India laid all her emphasis upon the law of heredity,[8] ignoring the law of mutation, and thus gradually reduced arts into crafts and genius into skill.

However, what Western observers fail to discern is that in her caste system India in all seriousness accepted her responsibility to solve the race problem in such a manner as to avoid all friction, and yet to afford each race freedom within its boundaries. Let us admit, in this India has not achieved a full measure of success. But this you must also concede, that the West, being more favorably situated as to homogeneity of races, has never given her attention to this problem, and whenever confronted with it she has tried to make it easy by ignoring it altogether.

Not only in your relation with aliens but also with the different sections of your own society you have not brought harmony of reconciliation. The spirit of conflict and competition is allowed the full freedom of its reckless career. And because its genesis is the greed of wealth and power it can never come to any other end but a violent death. In India, the production of commodities was brought under the law of social adjustments. Its basis was coöperation, having for its object the perfect satisfaction of social needs.

But in the West, it is guided by the impulse of competition whose end is the gain of wealth for individuals. But the individual is like the geometrical line; it is length without breadth. It has not got the depth to be able to hold anything permanently. Therefore its greed or gain can never come to finality. In its lengthening process of growth it can cross other lines and cause entanglements, but will ever go on missing the ideal of completeness in its thinness of isolation.

In all our physical appetites we recognize a limit. We know that to exceed that limit is to exceed the limit of health. But has this lust for wealth and power no bounds beyond which is death's dominion? In these national carnivals of materialism are not the Western peoples spending most of their vital energy in merely producing things and neglecting the creation of ideals? And can a civilization ignore the law of moral health and go on in its endless process of inflation by gorging upon material things? Man in his social ideals naturally tries to regulate his appetites, subordinating them to the higher purpose of his nature. But in the economic world our appetites follow no other restrictions but those of supply and demand which can be artificially fostered, affording individuals opportunities for indulgence in an endless feast of grossness. In India, our social instincts imposed restrictions upon our appetites—maybe it went to the extreme of repression—but in the West, the spirit of the economic organization, having no moral purpose, goads the people into the perpetual pursuit of wealth; but has this no wholesome limit?

The ideals that strive to take form in social institutions

have two objects. One is to regulate our passions and appetites for harmonious development of man, and the other is to help him in cultivating disinterested love for his fellow creatures. Therefore society is the expression of moral and spiritual aspirations of man which belong to his higher nature.

Our food is creative, it builds our body; but not so wine, which stimulates. Our social ideals create the human world, but when our mind is diverted from them to greed of power then in that state of intoxication we live in a world of abnormality where our strength is not health and our liberty is not freedom. Therefore political freedom does not give us freedom when our mind is not free. An automobile does not create freedom of movement, because it is a mere machine. When I myself am free I can use the automobile for the purpose of my freedom.

We must never forget in the present day that those people who have got their political freedom are not necessarily free, they are merely powerful. The passions which are unbridled in them are creating huge organizations of slavery in the disguise of freedom. Those who have made the gain of money their highest end are unconsciously selling their life and soul to rich persons or to the combinations that represent money. Those who are enamored of their political power and gloat over their extension of dominion over foreign races gradually surrender their own freedom and humanity to the organizations necessary for holding other peoples in slavery. In the so-called free countries the majority of the people are not free; they are driven by the minority to a goal which is not even known to them. This

becomes possible only because people do not acknowledge moral and spiritual freedom as their object. They create huge eddies with their passions, and they feel dizzily inebriated with the mere velocity of their whirling movement, taking that to be freedom. But the doom which is waiting to overtake them is as certain as death—for man's truth is moral truth, and his emancipation is in the spiritual life.

X

GOVERNMENT AND MAN: AUROBINDO

> A right knowledge of the facts disposes at once of the contention of Occidental critics that the Indian mind, even if remarkable in metaphysics, was sterile in political experiment.
>
> AUROBINDO

IT WOULD BE difficult to find a more dramatic contrast than that between the early and later life of Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950). Leaving Calcutta as a child, he spent fourteen years in England, completing his education at London and Cambridge with record achievements. After returning to India in 1893, he served for several years in administrative and educational work, during which time he added to his Western education an intensive study of Indian languages and civilization. As in the case of Tagore, the partition of Bengal drew Aurobindo into the nationalist movement. He became the leader of the so-called Bengal

terrorists and for four years led his Nationalist party against the moderates of the Indian Congress party. While a student in London he had joined a secret society entitled "The Lotus and Dagger," dedicated to Indian freedom, and now, as the advocate of aggressive nationalism, he organized secret revolutionary groups against the British. Tagore wrote a poem at this time in his honor, hailing him as the "voice incarnate, free, of India's soul.'" Ghose's activities led to his arrest and imprisonment for sedition. While in the Alipur jail, he underwent a religious experience which utterly transformed his life. After his release, he quit politics and retired to the French settlement of Pondicherry on the south Indian coast where he lived as a recluse until his death.[2]

Sri Aurobindo's[3] retirement from public life did not end his contributions to India's recent development. He continued to write and to attract followers from India and abroad, many of whom saw in him a prophet of the new age of man in which East and West would be joined in a common understanding. Although he remained generally silent on current affairs, he made statements during the Second World War in regard to the German threat to Asia and the Cripps' Mission proposals,[4] and later, on such problems as linguistic provinces under the new Indian Constitution.[5]

According to Aurobindo himself, his philosophy stems from the Rig-Veda, the earlier Upanishads, the *Gītā*, and other Hindu literatures.[6] He has restated and reinterpreted these in his voluminous writings. In the selection contained in this chapter, we have a corollary to Tagore's insistence

on freedom of activity. Aurobindo here pleads for a political unity based upon regional autonomies to permit the free play of individual and group Dharmas. He deplores the *artificial* unity of a centralized state based upon military coercion. He thereby defends India's past failures to achieve geographic unity by pointing to what he considers those higher ideals of spiritual and cultural unity embodied in her political traditions.

The most eloquent tribute to Aurobindo's work is perhaps that paid by India's vice-president, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who states: "Aurobindo was the greatest intellectual of our age and a major force for the life of the spirit. India will not forget his services to politics and philosophy and the world will remember with gratitude his invaluable work in the realms of philosophy and religion."[7]

The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity

THE FAILURE OF UNITY

A right knowledge of the facts and a right understanding of the character and principle of the Indian sociopolitical system disposes at once of the contention of Occidental

critics that the Indian mind, even if remarkable in metaphysics, religion, art, and literature, was inapt for the organization of life, inferior in the works of the practical intelligence, and, especially, that it was sterile in political experiment and its record empty of sound political construction, thinking, and action. On the contrary, Indian civilization evolved an admirable political system, built solidly and with an enduring soundness, combined with a remarkable skill the monarchical, democratic, and other principles and tendencies to which the mind of man has leaned in its efforts of civic construction and escaped at the same time the excess of the mechanizing turn which is the defect of the modern European state.

But there is another side of politics on which it may be said that the Indian political mind has registered nothing but failure. The organization it developed may have been admirable for stability and effective administration and the securing of communal order and liberties and the well-being of the people under ancient conditions, but even if its many peoples were each of them separately self-governed, well governed, and prosperous and the country at large assured in the steady functioning of a highly developed civilization and culture, yet that organization failed to serve for the national and political unification of India and failed in the end to secure it against foreign invasion, the disruption of its institutions, and an agelong servitude.

At no time does India seem to have been moved toward an aggressive military and political expansion beyond her own borders; no epic of world dominion, no great tale of far-borne invasion or expanding colonial empire has ever

been written in the tale of Indian achievement. The sole great endeavor of expansion, of conquest, of invasion she attempted was the expansion of her culture, the invasion and conquest of the Eastern world by the Buddhistic idea and the penetration of her spirituality, art, and thought-forces. And this was an invasion of peace and not of war, for to spread a spiritual civilization by force and physical conquest, the vaunt or the excuse of modern imperialism, would have been uncongenial to the ancient cast of her mind and temperament and the idea underlying her Dharma. A series of colonizing expeditions carried indeed Indian blood and Indian culture to the islands of the Archipelago,[8] but the ships that set out from both the eastern and western coast were not fleets of invaders missioned to annex those outlying countries to an Indian empire but of exiles or adventurers carrying with them to yet uncultured peoples Indian religion, architecture, art, poetry, thought, life, manners. The idea of empire and even of world empire was not absent from the Indian mind, but its world was the Indian world and the object the founding of the imperial unity of its peoples.

This idea, the sense of this necessity, a constant urge toward its realization is evident throughout the whole course of Indian history from earlier Vedic times through the heroic period represented by the traditions of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* and the effort of the imperial Mauryas and Guptas up to the Mogul unification and the last ambition of the Peshwas,[9] until there came the final failure and the leveling of all the conflicting forces under a foreign yoke, a uniform subjection in place of the free unity

AUROBINDO GHOSE

of a free people. The question then is whether the tardiness, the difficulty, the fluctuating movements of the process, and the collapse of the long effort were due to a fundamental incapacity in the civilization or in the political consciousness and ability of the people or to other forces.

The peoples of ancient India were never so much distinct nations sharply divided from each other by a separate political and economic life as subpeoples of a great spiritual and cultural nation itself firmly separated, physically, from other countries by the seas and the mountains and from other nations by its strong sense of difference, its peculiar common religion and culture. The creation of a political unity, however vast the area and however many the practical difficulties, ought therefore to have been effected more easily than could possibly be the unity of Europe. The causes of the failure must be sought deeper down, and we shall find that it lay in a dissidence between the manner in which the problem was or ought to have been envisaged and the actual turn given to the endeavor and in the latter a contradiction of the peculiar mentality of the people.

The whole basis of the Indian mind is its spiritual and inward turn, its propensity to seek the things of the spirit and the inner being first and foremost and to look at all else as secondary, dependent, to be handled and determined in the light of the higher knowledge and as an expression, a preliminary, or at least a pendent to the deeper spiritual aim—a tendency therefore to create whatever it had to create first on the inner plane and afterward in its other aspects. This mentality and this consequent tendency to create from within outwards being given, it was inevitable

that the unity India first created for herself should be the spiritual and cultural oneness. It could not be, to begin with, a political unification effected by an external rule centralized, imposed, or constructed, as was done in Rome or ancient Persia, by a conquering kingdom or the genius of a military and organizing people. It cannot, I think, justly be said that this was a mistake or a proof of the unpractical turn of the Indian mind and that the single political body should have been created first and afterward the spiritual unity could have securely grown up in the vast body of an Indian national empire.

The problem that presented itself at the beginning was that of a huge area containing more than a hundred kingdoms, clans, peoples, tribes, races, in this respect another Greece, but a Greece on an enormous scale, almost as large as modern Europe. As in Greece a cultural Hellenic unity was necessary to create a fundamental feeling of oneness, here too and much more imperatively a conscious spiritual and cultural unity of all these peoples was the first, the indispensable condition without which no enduring unity could be possible. The instinct of the Indian mind and of its great Rishis and founders of its culture was sound in this matter.[10] And even if we suppose that an outward imperial unity like that of the Roman world could have been founded among the peoples of early India by military and political means, we must not forget that the Roman unity did not endure, that even the unity of ancient Italy founded by the Roman conquest and organization did not endure, and it is not likely that a similar attempt in the vast reaches of India without the previous spiritual and cultural basis

would have been of an enduring character. It cannot be said either, even if the emphasis on spiritual and cultural unity be pronounced to have been too engrossing or excessive and the insistence of political and external unity too feeble, that the effect of this precedence has been merely disastrous and without any advantage. It is due to this original peculiarity, to this indelible spiritual stamp, to this underlying oneness amidst all diversities that if India is not yet a single organized political nation, she still survives and is still India.

THE PERSISTENCE OF COMMUNITY

After all, the spiritual and cultural is the only enduring unity, and it is by a persistent mind and spirit much more than by an enduring physical body and outward organization that the soul of a people survives. This is a truth the positive Western mind may be unwilling to understand or concede, and yet its proofs are written across the whole story of the ages. The ancient nations, contemporaries of India, and many younger born than she are dead and only their monuments left behind them. Greece and Egypt exist only on the map and in name, for it is not the soul of Hellas or the deeper nation-soul that built Memphis which we now find at Athens or at Cairo. Rome imposed a political and a purely outward cultural unity on the Mediterranean peoples, but their living spiritual and cultural oneness she could not create, and therefore the East broke away from the West, Africa kept no impress of the Roman interlude, and even the Western nations still called Latin could offer no living resistance to barbarian invaders and had to be reborn by the infusion of a foreign vitality to become mod-

ern Italy, Spain, and France. But India still lives and keeps the continuity of her inner mind and soul and spirit with the India of the ages.

But spiritual unity is a large and flexible thing and does not insist like the political and external on centralization and uniformity; rather it lives diffused in the system and permits readily a great diversity and freedom of life. Here we touch on the secret of the difficulty in the problem of unifying ancient India. It could not be done by the ordinary means of a centralized uniform imperial state crushing out all that made for free divergence, local autonomies, established communal liberties, and each time that an attempt was made in this direction, it has failed after however long a term of apparent success, and we might even say that the guardians of India's destiny wisely compelled it to fail that her inner spirit might not perish and her soul barter for an engine of temporary security the deep sources of its life. The ancient mind of India had the intuition of its need; its idea of empire was a uniting rule that respected every existing regional and communal liberty, that unnecessarily crushed out no living autonomy, that effected a synthesis of her life and not a mechanical oneness.

Afterward the conditions under which such a solution might securely have evolved and found its true means and form and basis, disappeared and there was instead an attempt to establish a single administrative empire. That endeavor, dictated by the pressure of an immediate and external necessity, failed to achieve a complete success in spite of its greatness and splendor. It could not do so because it followed a trend that was not eventually compatible with

the true turn of the Indian spirit. It has been seen that the underlying principle of the Indian sociopolitical system was a synthesis of communal autonomies, the autonomy of the village, of the town and capital city, of the caste, guild, family, *kula*,[11] religious community, regional unit. The state or kingdom or confederated republic was a means of holding together and synthesizing in a free and living organic system these autonomies. The imperial problem was to synthesize again these states, peoples, nations, effecting their unity but respecting their autonomy, into a larger free and living organism. A system had to be found that would maintain peace and oneness among its members, secure safety against external attack and totalize the free play and evolution, in its unity and diversity, in the uncoerced and active life of all its constituent communal and regional units, of the soul and body of Indian civilization and culture, the functioning on a grand and total scale of the Dharma.

This was the sense in which the earlier mind of India understood the problem. The administrative empire of later times accepted it only partially, but its trend was, very slowly and almost subconsciously, what the centralizing tendency must always be, if not actively to destroy, still to wear down and weaken the vigor of the subordinated autonomies. The consequence was that whenever the central authority was weak, the persistent principle of regional autonomy essential to the life of India reasserted itself to the detriment of the artificial unity established and not, as it should have done, for the harmonious intensification and freer but still united functioning of the total

life. The imperial monarchy tended also to wear down the vigor of the free assemblies, and the result was that the communal units, instead of being elements of a united strength, became isolated and dividing factors.

The village community preserved something of its vigor, but had no living connection with the supreme authority and, losing the larger national sense, was willing to accept any indigenous or foreign rule that respected its own self-sufficient narrow life. The religious communities came to be imbued with the same spirit. The castes, multiplying themselves without any true necessity or true relation to the spiritual or the economic need of the country, became mere sacrosanct conventional divisions, a power for isolation and not, as they originally were, factors of a harmonious functioning of the total life-synthesis. It is not true that the caste divisions were in ancient India an obstacle to the united life of the people or that they were even in later times an active power for political strife and disunion—except indeed at the end, in the final decline, and especially during the later history of the Maratha confederation;[12] but they did become a passive force of social division and of a stagnant compartmentalism obstructive to the reconstitution of a free and actively united life.

The evils that attended the system did not all manifest themselves with any power before the Mohommedan invasions, but they must have been already there in their beginning, and they increased rapidly under the conditions created by the Pathan and the Mogul empires. These later imperial systems, however brilliant and powerful, suffered still more than their predecessors from the evils of cen-

tralization owing to their autocratic character and were constantly breaking down from the same tendency of the regional life of India to assert itself against an artificial unitarian regime, while, because they had no true, living, and free relation with the life of the people, they proved unable to create the common patriotism which would have effectively secured them against the foreign invader. And in the end there has come a mechanical Western rule that has crushed out all the still-existing communal or regional autonomies and substituted the dead unity of a machine. But again in the reaction against it we see the same ancient tendencies reviving, the tendency toward a reconstitution of the regional life of the Indian peoples, the demand for a provincial autonomy founded on true subdivisions of race and language, a harking back of the Indian mind to the ideal of the lost village community as a living unit necessary to the natural life of the national body and, not yet reborn but dimly beginning to dawn on the more advanced minds, a truer idea of the communal basis proper to Indian life and the renovation and reconstruction of Indian society and politics on a spiritual foundation.

The failure to achieve Indian unity, of which the invasions and the final subjection to the foreigner were the consequence, arose therefore at once from the magnitude and from the peculiarity of the task, because the easy method of a centralized empire could not truly succeed in India, while yet it seemed the only device possible and was attempted again and again with a partial success that seemed for the time and a long time to justify it, but always with an eventual failure.

The ideal of the ancient Rishis is clear and their purpose: it is evident that they saw the military and political utility and necessity of a unification of the divided and warring peoples of the land, but they saw also that it ought not to be secured at the expense of the free life of the regional peoples or of the communal liberties and not therefore by a centralized monarchy or a rigidly unitarian imperial state. A hegemony or confederacy under an imperial head would be the nearest Western analogy to the conception they sought to impose on the minds of the people.

The attempt to establish a centralized imperial monarchy brought with it not a free synthesis but a breaking down of regional autonomies. Although according to the Indian principle their institutes and customs were respected and at first even their political institutions not wholly annulled, at any rate in many cases, but brought within the imperial system, these could not really flourish under the shadow of the imperial centralization. The free peoples of the ancient Indian world began to disappear, their broken materials serving afterward to create the now-existing Indian races. The advantages gained were those of a stronger and more coherent military action and a more regularized and uniform administration, but these could not compensate in the end for the impairment of the free organic diversified life which was the true expression of the mind and temperament of the people.

A worse result was a certain fall from the high ideal of the Dharma. In the struggle of kingdom with kingdom for supremacy a habit of Machiavellian statecraft replaced the

nobler ethical ideals of the past, aggressive ambition was left without any sufficient spiritual or moral check, and there was a coarsening of the national mind in the ethics of politics and government already evidenced in the draconic penal legislation of the Maurya times and in Asoka's sanguinary conquest of Orissa.[13] The deterioration, held in abeyance by a religious spirit and high intelligence, did not come to a head till more than a thousand years afterward, and we only see it in its full force in the worst period of the decline when unrestrained mutual aggression, the unbridled egoism of princes and leaders, a total lack of political principle and capacity for effective union, the want of a common patriotism, and the traditional indifference of the common people to a change of rulers gave the whole of the vast peninsula into the grasp of a handful of merchants from across the seas.[14]

Meanwhile the empire served well enough, although not perfectly, the end for which it was created, the saving of Indian soil and Indian civilization from that immense flood of barbarian unrest which threatened all the ancient stabilized cultures and finally proved too strong for the highly developed Graeco-Roman civilization and the vast and powerful Roman empire.

It is a later downfall, the Mussulman conquest failing in the hands of the Arabs but successfully reattempted after a long interval, and all that followed it which serves to justify the doubt thrown on the capacity of the Indian peoples. But first let us put aside certain misconceptions which cloud the real issue. This conquest took place at a time when the vitality of ancient Indian life and culture

after two thousand years of activity and creation was already exhausted for a time or very near exhaustion and needed a breathing space to rejuvenate itself by transference from the Sanskrit to the popular tongues and the newly forming regional peoples. The conquest was effected rapidly enough in the north, although not entirely complete there for several centuries, but the south long preserved its freedom as of old against the earlier indigenous empire and there was not so long a distance of time between the extinction of the kingdom of Vijayanagara and the rise of the Marathas.[15] The Rajputs maintained their independence until the time of Akbar and his successors and it was in the end partly with the aid of Rajput princes acting as their generals and ministers that the Moguls completed their sway over the east and the south.[16] And this was again possible because—a fact too often forgotten—the Mussulman domination ceased very rapidly to be a foreign rule. The vast mass of the Mussulmans in the country were and are Indians by race, only a very small admixture of Pathan, Turkish, and Mogul blood took place, and even the foreign kings and nobles became almost immediately wholly Indian in mind, life, and interest.

If the race had really, like certain European countries, remained for many centuries passive, acquiescent, and impotent under an alien sway, that would indeed have been a proof of a great inherent weakness; but the British is the first really continuous foreign rule that has dominated India. The ancient civilization underwent indeed an eclipse and decline under the weight of a Central Asiatic religion and culture with which it failed to coalesce, but

it survived its pressure, put its impact on it in many directions, and remained to our own day alive even in decadence and capable of recovery, thus giving a proof of strength and soundness rare in the history of human cultures. And in the political field it never ceased to throw up great rulers, statesmen, soldiers, administrators. Its political genius was not in the decadence sufficient, not coherent enough or swift in vision and action, to withstand the Pathan, Mogul, and European, but it was strong to survive and await every opportunity of revival, created the great kingdom of Vijayanagara, and held its own for centuries against Islam in the hills of Rajputana. In its worst days it still built and maintained against the whole power of the ablest of the Moguls the kingdom of Shivaji, formed the Maratha confederacy and the Sikh Khalsa,[17] undermined the great Mogul structure, and again made a last attempt at empire. On the brink of the final and almost fatal collapse in the midst of unspeakable darkness, disunion, and confusion it could still produce Runjit Singh and Nana Fadnavis and Madhoji Scindia and oppose the inevitable march of England's destiny.[18] These facts do not diminish the weight of the charge that can be made of an incapacity to see and solve the central problem and answer the one persistent question of Fate, but considered as the phenomena of a decadence they make a sufficiently remarkable record not easily paralleled under similar circumstances and certainly put a different complexion on the total question than the crude statement that India has been always subject and politically incapable.

The lifeless attempt of the last generation to imitate and

reproduce with a servile fidelity the ideals and forms of the West has been no true indication of the political mind and genius of the Indian people. But again amid all the mist of confusion there is still the possibility of a new twilight, not of an evening but a morning *yuga-saṁdhyā*.[19] India of the ages is not dead nor has she spoken her last creative word; she lives and has still something to do for herself and the human peoples. And that which must seek now to awake is not an Anglicized oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the Occident's success and failure, but still the ancient immemorable Shakti[20] recovering her deepest self, lifting her head higher toward the supreme source of light and strength, and turning to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma.

XI

NONVIOLENCE AS POLITICAL POWER: GANDHI

> The foundation of our movement rests on complete nonviolence, whereas violence is the final refuge of the Government. And as no energy can be created without resistance, our nonresistance to Government violence must bring the latter to a standstill.
>
> GANDHI

OF THE AUTHORS in this volume, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) needs the least introduction to the Western reader.[1] He was born in Porbandar on the Kathiawar Peninsula of western India where his father and grandfather had been prime ministers of the state. This region had long remained ruggedly independent of Western influences and was the home of Dayananda Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj revival of Hinduism.[2]

At the age of eighteen, having already married, Gandhi went to England to study law; there he was admitted to the

bar in 1891. After returning to India that year he tried unsuccessfully to establish a practice in Bombay and Kathiawar. When a business firm in Porbandar offered to send him to South Africa on an important law case, he accepted and in 1893 again left India for what was to become the decisive experience of his life. He encountered such indignities and witnessed so much exploitation and discrimination against the Indian laborers on the tea, coffee, and sugar plantations that he resolved to devote his energies to aiding his fellow countrymen in their distress. For twenty-one years he lived and worked in South Africa during which time he underwent a most remarkable personal development and experimented, successfully and unsuccessfully, with various political and social programs and methods.[3] The most notable of these was Satyagraha, Noncoöperation or "truth force," which became the keynote of his later Indian career.[4]

In 1915, Gandhi finally came back to India where he established his famous Ashram or settlement north of Bombay at Ahmedabad, capital of Gujarat. He continued to promote his Satyagraha program among all classes, especially with those groups he felt were undergoing exploitation.[5] But the events of 1918–1919, particularly the Amritsar tragedy, brought Gandhi and his followers into open defiance of the British.[6] Thereafter, he continued a persistent, though erratic, struggle for Swaraj, or independence. He lived long enough to see British control end on August 15, 1947. Five months later he was assassinated.

Like the other modern writers we have discussed, Gandhi's ideas have deep roots in the classic Indian tradition. He has emphasized his debt to the *Bhagavad Gītā*, which he first read

as a student in London[7] and called his "dictionary." He interpreted it as an expression of the doctrine of Ahimsa, or noninjury, which became a central core of his system of political thought. This outlook is, however, also basic to the ancient Jain religious order, whose influence was greater in Gandhi's home region of Gujarat than anywhere else in India. And we find strong support for the Ahimsa viewpoint in the Buddhist scriptures, which he greatly admired. He heard readings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his father's home at the age of thirteen and believed that the Indian epics each taught Ahimsa.[8] This is apparent in such passages as the following from the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata:* "Harmlessness to all creatures is of all duties the highest."[9] He is, of course, also indebted to his own Indian contemporaries and to such Western thinkers as Thoreau.[10] The selections in this chapter emphasize Noncoöperation or Satyagraha, which was a natural application of his basic doctrine to the field of politics.[11]

It should be noted, however, that some Hindu scholars rejected Gandhi's interpretation of the ancient literature and his social and political principles derived therefrom. His interpretation of the *Gītā* regarding Nonviolence has been specifically questioned.[12] Such disagreement never disturbed Gandhi, who felt that his own conscience was a safer guide than any array of logic. Nor did apparent lack of consistency hamper his tireless search for what he considered "truth," even though his shifts of viewpoint at times confounded both his enemies and his followers. Gandhi did not lose sight of ultimate principle. To him, Nonviolence was more a matter of motive than of deed. Ill will toward an-

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

fication through suffering? Why should we expect to write our history differently? It is possible for us, if we would, to learn from the mistakes of our predecessors to do better, but it is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being.

The way to do better is to avoid, if we can, violence from our side and thus quicken the rate of progress and to introduce greater purity in the methods of suffering. The purer the suffering, the greater is the progress. Hence did the sacrifice of Jesus suffice to free a sorrowing world. In his onward march, he did not count the cost of suffering, entailed upon his neighbors, whether it was undergone by them voluntarily or otherwise. Thus did the sufferings of a Harischandra suffice to reëstablish the kingdom of truth.[14] He must have known that his subjects would suffer involuntarily by his abdication. He did not mind, because he could not do otherwise than follow truth.

When a person claims to be nonviolent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrongdoer. Thus Nonviolence is complete innocence. Complete Nonviolence is complete absence of ill will against all that lives. It therefore embraces even subhuman life, not excluding noxious insects or beasts. They have not been created to feed our destructive propensities. If we only knew the mind of the Creator, we should find their proper place in His creation. Nonviolence is therefore in its active form good will toward all life. It is pure Love. I read it in the Hindu scriptures, in the Bible, in the Koran.

Nonviolence is a perfect state. It is a goal toward which all mankind moves naturally though unconsciously. Man does not become divine when he personifies innocence in himself. Only then does he become truly man. In our present state, we are partly men and partly beasts and in our ignorance and even arrogance say that we truly fulfill the purpose of our species, when we deliver blow for blow and develop the measure of anger required for the purpose. We pretend to believe that retaliation is the law of our being, whereas in every scripture we find that retaliation is nowhere obligatory but only permissible. It is restraint that is obligatory. Retaliation is indulgence requiring elaborate regulating. Restraint is the law of our being. For highest perfection is unattainable without highest restraint. Suffering is thus the badge of the human tribe.

What then is the meaning of Noncoöperation in terms of the Law of Suffering? We must voluntarily put up with the losses and inconveniences that arise from having to withdraw our support from a Government that is ruling against our will. Possession of power and riches is a crime under an unjust government; poverty in that case is a virtue, says Thoreau. It may be that, in the transition state, we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national emasculation. We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrongdoer has been roused to a sense of his iniquity. We must not, for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrongdoer directly or indirectly.

Sages of old mortified the flesh, so that the spirit within

might be set free, so that their trained bodies might be proof against any injury that might be inflicted on them by tyrants seeking to impose their will on them. And if India wishes to revive her ancient wisdom and to avoid the errors of Europe, if India wishes to see the Kingdom of God established on earth, instead of that of Satan which has enveloped Europe, then I would urge her sons and daughters not to be deceived by fine phrases, the terrible subtleties that hedge us in, the fears of suffering that India may have to undergo, but to see what is happening today in Europe, and from it understand that we must go through the suffering even as Europe has gone through, but not the process of making others suffer. A nation that is capable of limitless sacrifice is capable of rising to limitless heights. The purer the sacrifice, the quicker the progress.

NONCOÖPERATION AND NONVIOLENCE

We have chosen a method that compels us to turn, each one of us, our face toward God. Noncoöperation presumes that our opponent with whom we noncoöperate resorts to methods which are as questionable as the purpose he seeks to fulfill by such methods. We shall therefore find favor in the sight of God only by choosing methods which are different in kind from those of our opponents. This is a big claim we have made for ourselves, and we can attain success within the short time appointed by us, only if our methods are in reality radically different from those of the Government.

Hence the foundation of our movement rests on complete Nonviolence, whereas violence is the final refuge of the Government. And as no energy can be created without resist-

ance, our nonresistance to Government violence must bring the latter to a standstill. But our Nonviolence to be true, must be in word, thought, and deed. I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of Nonviolence is not meant merely for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For, Satyagraha and its offshoots, Noncoöperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The Rishis, who discovered the law of Nonviolence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through Nonviolence.

I have not, however, put before India the final form of Nonviolence. The Nonviolence that I have preached from Congress platforms is Nonviolence as a policy. But even policies require honest adherence in thought, word, and deed. If I believe that honesty is the best policy, surely while I so believe, I must be honest in thought, word, and deed, for otherwise I become an impostor. Nonviolence being a policy means that it can upon due notice be given up when it proves unsuccessful or ineffective. But simple morality demands that while a particular policy is adopted, it be pur-

sued with all one's heart. It is simple policy to march along a certain route, but the soldier who marches with an unsteady step along that route is liable to be summarily dismissed. I become therefore incredulous when people talk to me skeptically about Nonviolence or are seized with fright at the very mention of the word. If they do not believe in the expedient of Nonviolence, they must denounce it but not claim to believe in the expedient when their heart resists it.

I contend that the revolutionary method cannot succeed in India. If an open warfare were a possibility, I may concede that we may tread the path of violence that the other countries have and at least evolve the qualities that bravery on the battlefield brings forth. But the attainment of Swaraj through warfare I hold an impossibility for any time that we can foresee."[15] Warfare may give us another rule for the English rule, but not self-rule in terms of the masses. The pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb. It requires attention to details. It means vast organizing ability, it means penetration into the villages solely for the service of the villagers. In other words, it means national education—education of the masses. It means an awakening of national consciousness among the masses. It will not spring like the magician's mango. It will grow almost unperceived like the banyan tree. A bloody revolution will never perform the trick. Haste here is most certainly waste.

In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that anyone else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force. And so I receive anonymous letters advising me that I must not

interfere with the progress of Noncoöperation, even though popular violence may break out. Others come to me and, assuming that secretly I must be plotting violence, inquire when the happy moment for declaring open violence is to arrive. They assure me that the English will never yield to anything but violence, secret or open. Yet others, I am informed, believe that I am the most rascally person living in India, because I never give out my real intention and they have not a shadow of a doubt that I believe in violence just as much as most people do.

Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as success of Noncoöperation depends principally on absence of violence during its pendency and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908, whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the late War.[10] Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honor than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonor.

My resistance to war does not carry me to the point of thwarting those who wish to take part in it. I reason with them. I put before them the better way and leave them to make the choice. But I believe that Nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. Abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk.[17] They would tear him to pieces if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

Nonviolence presupposes ability to strike. It is a conscious, deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance. But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate, and helpless submission. Forgiveness is higher still. Vengeance too is weakness. The desire for vengeance comes out of fear of harm, imaginary or real. A man who fears no one on earth would consider it troublesome even to summon up anger against one who is vainly trying to injure him.

Nonviolence and cowardice go ill together. I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true Nonviolence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness. If we are unmanly today, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of

Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas who, being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it.[18] He is no follower of Ahimsa who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher or who, in order to do a supposed good to his country, does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice, and fear.

I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent. I do not believe that the killing of even every Englishman can do the slightest good to India. The millions would be just as badly off as they are today, if someone made it possible to kill off every Englishman tomorrow. The responsibility is more ours than that of the English for the present state of things. The English will be powerless to do evil if we will but be good. Hence my incessant emphasis on reform from within. History teaches one that those who have, no doubt with honest motives, ousted the greedy by using brute force against them, have in their turn become a prey to the disease of the conquered. From violence done to the foreign ruler, violence to our own people whom we may consider to be obstructing the country's progress is an easy natural step. Whatever may have been the result of violent activities in other countries and without reference to the philosophy of Nonviolence, it does not require much intellectual effort to see that if we resort to violence for ridding society of the many abuses which impede our progress, we

shall add to our difficulties and postpone the day of freedom. The people unprepared for reforms because unconvinced of their necessity will be maddened with rage over their coercion, and will seek the assistance of the foreigner in order to retaliate. Has not this been happening before our eyes for the past many years of which we have still painfully vivid recollections?

The beauty of Satyagraha, of which Noncoöperation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight; that it has checks that automatically work for the vindication of truth and justice for that side, whichever it may be, that has truth and justice in preponderating measure. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon in the hand of the capitalist as in that of the laborer. It is as powerful in the hands of the government, as in that of the people, and will bring victory to the government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the government be in the wrong. Quick disorganization and defeat are bound to be the fate of bolstered-up cases and artificial agitations, if the battle is fought with Satygraha weapons. Suppose the people are unfit to rule themselves, or are unwilling to sacrifice for a cause, then, no amount of noise will bring them victory in Noncoöperation.

Science teaches us that a lever cannot move a body unless it has got a resting point outside the body against which it is applied. Similarly, in order to overcome evil one must stand wholly outside it, on the firm, solid ground of unadulterated good. The methods of violence, again, have not only failed in their purpose but have produced an effect opposite to what they were intended to produce. Because, when once

physical force comes on the scene, it calls forth a superior physical force which subdues it for the time being. Then it puts forth more force and the chain of violence lengthens and strengthens. This method is wrong because it overlooks the fundamental fact that evil can never be overcome with evil, it ceases only through good. We will remember how Lord Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, in the vision of the cosmic form, showed to Arjuna that Duryodhana and the other Kauravas were self-destroyed already by their own evil."[9]

The only way of curing disease is to remove the causes thereof. Let people purify themselves, let them cease to indirectly participate in the evil of the state and it will disappear by itself. Self-purification, then, and not violence, or reform is the real remedy. To purify oneself by withdrawing coöperation from the state: this is the great doctrine of Noncoöperation.

Noncoöperation is not a movement of brag, bluster, or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble. A Noncoöperationist strives to compel attention and to set an example not by his violence, but by his unobtrusive humility. He allows his solid action to speak for his creed. His strength lies in his reliance upon the correctness of his position. And the conviction of it grows most in his opponent when he least interposes his speech between his action and

his opponent. Speech, especially when it is haughty, betrays want of confidence and it makes one's opponent sceptical about the reality of the act itself. Humility therefore is the key to quick success. I hope that every Noncoöperationist will recognize the necessity of being humble and self-restrained.

SWARAJ AND LIBERTY

Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation. The first step to Swaraj, or self-government, lies in the individual. The great truth: "As with the individual so with the universe" is applicable here as elsewhere. Self-government depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds. Indeed, self-government, which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and to sustain it, is not worth the name. I have therefore endeavored to show both in word and deed that political self-government—that is self-government for a large number of men and women—is no better than individual self-government, and therefore, it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required for individual self-government or self-rule.

Swaraj, or self-government, can never be a free gift by one nation to another. It is a treasure to be purchased with a nation's best blood. Swaraj will be the fruit of incessant labor, suffering beyond measure. Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of government control whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life. Mere with-

drawal of the English is not independence. It means the consciousness in the average villager that he is the maker of his own destiny, he is his own legislator through his chosen representative.

We have long been accustomed to think that power comes only through legislative assemblies. I have regarded this belief as a grave error brought about by inertia or hypnotism. A superficial study of British history has made us think that all power percolates to the people from parliaments. The truth is that power resides in the people and it is entrusted for the time being to those whom they may choose as their representatives. Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people. It has been my effort for the last twenty-one years to convince the people of this simple truth. Civil disobedience is the storehouse of power. Imagine a whole people unwilling to conform to the laws of the legislature, and prepared to suffer the consequences of noncompliance. They will bring the whole legislative and executive machinery to a standstill. The police and the military are of use to coerce minorities however powerful they may be. But no police or military coercion can bend the resolute will of a people, out for suffering to the uttermost.

The rule of the majority has a narrow application: one should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is slavery to be amenable to the majority, no matter what its decisions are.[30] Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded.

I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the

greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all programs. The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbor. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that government is best which governs the least.

An armed government bending a minority to its will by a clatter of arms is a negation of the democratic spirit and progress. If that is the promise of the new program, we have the armed coercion even now, not indeed of a mere minority but of an overwhelming majority. What we want, I hope, is a government not based on coercion even of a minority but on its conversion. If it is a change from white military rule to brown, we hardly need make any fuss. At any rate the masses then do not count. They will be subject to the same spoliation as now, if not even worse.

Our Noncoöperation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our Noncoöperation is with the system the English have established, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Our Noncoöperation is a retirement within ourselves. Our Noncoöperation is a refusal to coöperate with the English administrators on their own terms. We say to them, "Come and coöperate with us on our terms and it will be well for us, for you, and the world." We must refuse to be lifted off our feet. A drowning man cannot save others. In order to be fit to save others, we must try to save ourselves. Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious, and therefore humanitarian. India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity.

I would like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself as a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world. The individual, being pure, sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation, the nation for all.

XII

THE WHITE UMBRELLA

Arjuna held over the head of Sri Krishna, Lord of the three regions of the world, protector of Dharma, and King of the descendants of Madhu, a White Umbrella, the handle of which was set with diamonds and the fringes adorned with pearls.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa

ALTHOUGH THE *śveta-cchattra* was in one sense a symbol of monarchial power, or kingly authority, our title has relevancy for both ancient and modern sections of this book. In a larger sense, the "White Umbrella" symbolizes the sovereign power of the world—the protective, sheltering Dharma or "Firmament of Law," whose instrument the king becomes when he receives the umbrella at the coronation ritual.[1] The ruler and his administration are thereby obligated to conduct the government in accord with the highest ethical principles of the Hindu tradition—to place public welfare and duty above personal desires. And the

citizen has of course a corresponding responsibility in his own sphere of activity. In this broader aspect, the book's title covers the spirit of Tagore and Gandhi as well as that of Manu and Vyasa.

This may be illustrated by various parallel passages from ancient and modern periods.[3]

Manu: "When creatures, being without a king, were through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation. The king who properly inflicts punishment prospers, but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the unjust punishment which he inflicts."
Vivekananda: "The king is like the lion; in him are present both the good and evil propensities of the lord of beasts. Kings are the centers where all the forces of society, otherwise loosely scattered about, are made to converge and from which they start and course through the body politic and animate society. But the king forgets that those forces are only stored with him so that he may increase and give them back."

Vyasa: "All creatures rest upon righteousness. All creatures grow in the growth of righteousness and decay with its decay. Righteousness is called Dharma. The sages, O King, have declared that Dharma restrains and sets bounds to all evil acts of men. The Lord created Dharma for the advancement and growth of creatures."
Tagore: "Can a civilization ignore the law of moral health and go on in its endless process of inflation by gorging upon

material things? Man in his social ideals naturally tries to regulate his appetites, subordinating them to the higher purpose of his being. But in the economic world our appetites follow no other restrictions but those of supply and demand."

Kautilya: "Harmlessness, truthfulness, purity, freedom from spite, abstinence from cruelty, and forgiveness are duties common to all. Hence the king shall never allow the people to swerve from their Dharma; for whoever upholds his own duty ever adhering to the customs of the Aryas will surely be happy both here and hereafter. For the world, when maintained in accordance with injunctions of the Vedas, will surely progress, but never perish."
Ghose: "And that which must now awake is not an Anglicized oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the Occident's success and failure, but still the ancient immemorable Shakti recovering her deepest self, lifting her head higher toward the supreme source of light and strength and turning to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma."

Sukra: "How can the man who is unable to subdue his mind and senses master the world? The king should first provide discipline to himself, then to his sons, then to ministers, then to servants, then to the subjects."
Gandhi: "Government over self is the truest Swaraj; it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation. The first step to Swaraj lies in the individual. The great truth: 'As with the individual so with the universe,' is applicable here as else-

where. A drowning man cannot save others. In order to be fit to save others, we must try to save ourselves. The individual, being pure, sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation, the nation for all."[3]

The individual reader is free to draw his own conclusions as to the significance of the Hindu political tradition for present-day problems in India. Some will disagree as to the nature of this tradition—emphasizing, as Sarkar and others have done, the "realism" of the Arthashastra writings.[4] Some will deny that the past has much importance for the political life of contemporary India. With these, however, we do not dispute. The nature of Indian "realism" has already been discussed.[5] And as regards contemporary politics, this study is not intended as an ideological guide to current Indian affairs. In general, they are correct who point out that the Indian Constitution of 1950 was strongly influenced by British parliamentary institutions and Western ideas and reflects comparatively little of Indian tradition.[6] Nevertheless, as one jurist has observed, "British occupation has been a brief episode in the history of India, and the influence of the preceding centuries will be felt. The Hindu jurists of the past combined in their writings a realistic vision of facts as they saw them, with a remarkable skill in influencing their countrymen to abandon practices of which they disapproved. There is no reason to suppose that their successors have lost this art. Indian politicians have hitherto spent most of their time in opposition, and the type of government they

then desired may seem less attractive when their task is to preserve and construct."[7] It is still too early to judge the impact of the Hindu political heritage upon current problems of the Indian state.

The personal integrity of the ruler and the moral sense of the citizenry are the keys to sound government and prosperous society offered by Manu and Gandhi alike. No trick of administrative technique or organization, no constitutional devices or amendments can save a government or state lacking these essentials. And for that polity which possesses them, state machinery is of secondary importance. Such, at least, is the attitude of the Hindu theorists. Although this heritage has many facets and apparent contradictions, the core of the tradition as symbolized by the "White Umbrella" is essentially this: *The problem of government is the ethical problem of the individual projected onto the field of the state. Its solution lies in Dharma.*

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT WORDS

A LARGE NUMBER of Sanskrit words have now become Anglicized. It has seemed preferable to use these English versions wherever possible rather than the less familiar Sanskrit forms involving diacritical marks. Examples of Anglicizations include "Raja," "Dharmashastra," "Brahman," "Artha," and "Purana." The following rules have been adopted governing transliteration and pronunciation of Indian words used in this volume.

1. All Sanskrit terms included in Webster's New International Dictionary are used as spelled therein without italics or markings, except in titles of Sanskrit works.
2. Non-Anglicized Sanskrit words are written in italics with diacritical marks. Transliteration follows in general the system used by the *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
3. Indian names for places or persons, real or mythical, are given without italics or diacritical marks, whether or not included in Webster, except in titles of Sanskrit works.
4. Pronunciation of Anglicized terms follows, of course, that of Webster. It should be noted, however, that in many instances the English pronunciation varies considerably from that of the original. The table below may serve as an approximate guide to the pronunciation of non-Anglicized Sanskrit words.

a	is sounded as	*u*	in cut
ā	" " "	*a*	" car
i	" " "	*i*	" sit
ī	" " "	*i*	" machine
u	" " "	*u*	" full
ū	" " "	*u*	" rude
ṛ	" " "	*ri*	" ribbon
e	" " "	*e*	" whey
ai	" " "	*ai*	" aisle
o	" " "	*o*	" so
au	" " "	*ow*	" now
c	" " "	*ch*	" charge
ś	" " "	*s*	" sure
ṣ	" " "	*sh*	" shout
gh, *dh*, etc.	" " "	*gh*, *dh*	" loghead, redhead, etc.

Definitions of Sanskrit words are indicated in most cases on first occurrence in the text or notes. Moreover, the meaning of any term used may be found by consulting the index and turning to the page in boldface type listed after the word. Meanings are contextual rather than definitive.

Notes

Short titles are used throughout the notes. Full bibliographic data will be found for all references in the bibliography.

CHAPTER I: *The Sources*

[1] The sources of the quotations heading the chapters of this book are as follows: chapter i: Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 38; chapter ii: Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, 7; chapter vii: Aiyar, *Indian Political Theories*, p. 4; chapter xii: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X. 1–19: Sanyal, *Srimad-Bhagbatam*, I, 49. The sources of heading quotations for other chapters are to be found in the texts of the various selections. The quotation facing the title page is from *Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddha Kanda, Sarga 131.

[2] Owing to lack of adequate historical data, the chronology of the Vedic period is rather conjectural. Western authorities generally assign later dates than do Indian scholars. Thus Macdonell places the beginnings of the Rig-Veda as late as 1300 B.C., whereas Kane suggests a possible date of 3000 B.C. or earlier. The date used here is within the period suggested by Winternitz (*Indian Literature*, I, 310) and by M. B. Emeneau ("Indian Literature," in Brown, *India, Pakistan, Ceylon*, pp. 52–67). Consult also Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*.

[3] Buddhist thought is not in the strictest sense Hindu thought, since it involves a different religious group. But in the broader sense it (like Jainism) is an outgrowth of the Vedic heritage and may be mentioned in connection with Hindu ideas. Moslem and European ideas are, on the contrary, based on other traditions.

[4] The *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, a cornerstone of Indian political thought, is a comparatively recent discovery, the text of which was not published until 1909. Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. vi. Some idea of the variety of these sources may be had from the list of juridical studies in ancient Indian law by Ludwik Sternbach. See footnote to his *Non-juridical Sources in Classical Sanskrit*, p. 145.

[5] *Young India*, March 2, 1922, p. 131, quoted in Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 26. Sarkar, however, among others, has emphasized the secular nature of Indian theory. *Political Institutions and Theories*, pp. 155–166.

[6] *Arthaśāstra* I. 6: Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 10. Although the ancient *Cārvāka* school of philosophy proclaimed a strictly materialistic outlook and denied the authority of the Vedic texts, it did not provide the basis for Indian political theory. For a brief survey, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, 271–285.

[7] The Samhitas consist of the metrical hymns of the Vedas in contrast to the Brahmanas or prose sections. For an analysis of the political theory in the Rig-Veda and other early works, see Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories* [1927], pp. 19–35.

[8] See Iyengar, *Hindu Law*, p. 25. The codes of Manu, Yajnavalkya, and Narada are considered basic sources of Hindu personal law today. Davar and Madon, *Indian Law*, pp. 11–12. The term "Dharmashastra" is used here in the broad sense to include the earlier (prose) writings on Dharma known as "Dharmasutras."

[9] For a detailed analysis of the term Purana, see Pargiter, *Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 34–36.

[10] See the section on Sukra. Dikshitar gives Kamandaka first place among *nīti* writers. *Kāmandakīya*, p. 46. In actual usage the distinction between *nīti* and Arthashastra is not clear-cut.

[11] The Vajjian lecture is found in *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* I. 1–5: Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 3–4. For a recent analysis stressing the Buddhist democratic contributions, consult Gard, *Buddhist Influences*. For Jataka material, consult Cowell, *Jātaka*. One tale describes the king who renounced his throne to become an ascetic (I, 30–31). Another tells of the ruler who refused war yet regained his sovereignty (I, 128–133).

[12] The Hindu influence upon the Moslems was especially strong by the sixteenth century. See Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, pp. 480–481. The law based upon the Indian Smritis was continued in effect and enforced by the Moslem rulers. Iyengar, *Hindu Law*, p. 4. For a survey of Moslem political thought beginning with Mohammed and the Koran, consult Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought*. Here also is a rich tradition—though founded on non-Indic sources. The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Akbar's minister Abu-l Fazl is a well-known Moslem contribution during the Mohammedan period of rule, but it is not, like Sukra's treatise, a landmark in the classic Indian tradition, nor did it mark any renaissance in Indian thought as shown by the decline of India after the Akbar regime.

[13] Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 34.

[14] For a concise analysis of this tradition as it was applied to India by the British, consult Ruthnaswamy, *Political Theory of the Government of India*; Gledhill, *Republic of India*, pp. 6–69.

[15] For a discussion of the controversy over the date of Sukra, see Sarkar, *Hindu Sociology*, pp. 63–67; Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 486.

[16] For chronologies, see Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 437–464; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, xi; Iyengar, *Hindu Law*, pp. 1–63; also consult Winternitz, *Indian Literature*; Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*.

[17] See Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 264–272; Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 1–33; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, 86–87. See also Sternbach's remarks on the Dharmasutras, Dharmashastras, the *Mitākṣarā*, etc., in his *Indian Law*, pp. 116–127.

[18] See chap. ii.

[19] For a detailed definition of Smriti, see Jha, *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*, p. 214; Banerji, *Smṛti-nibandha Literature*, p. 38–41.

[20] Consult Altekar, *Smṛtis as a Source of Dharma*.

[21] The Mimansa school of philosophy was devoted to the analysis of the Vedic literature and texts and hence by extension the proper interpretation of the Smriti literature. The Hindu legal system is deeply indebted to the Mimansa for certain doctrines and above all for methods of interpretation of important passages. See Keith, *Karma-Mīmāṁsā*, p. 100; Edgerton, *Mīmānsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, p. iv; Shastri, *Pūrva Mīmāṁsa*, pp. 1–46.

[22] *Political Institutions and Theories*, pp. 163–167. Aiyangar refutes Sir Henry Maine's contention that Manu's code was never actually administered. *Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 27–28. See also Iyengar, *Hindu Law*, pp. 2–5.

[23] Consult especially Jayasawal, *Hindu Polity*. The author attempts to demonstrate a democratic rather than a monarchial political tradition in ancient India. See also Ghoshal's reply in *Vedic Assemblies*, pp. 143–153.

[24] For instance, W. F. Willoughby in *Political Theories of the Ancient World*, pp. 16–17, denies the existence of the idea of liberty in oriental politics, and P. Janet (*Histoire de la Science Politique, dans ses rapports avec la morale*. Paris, 1913. 2 vols. I, 2, 3, 26, 27) offers a similar opinion. Dunning says, "The Aryans of Europe have shown themselves to be the only peoples to whom the term political may be properly applied." *Political Theories*, pp. xix–xx. See also Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 4–9.

[25] *Political Institutions*, p. vi.

[26] See Arokiaswami, *Political Philosophers of Ancient South India*, pp. 177–182.

[27] See Aiyangar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, pp. 32–43. For further analysis, see Law, *Tirukkuṛaḷ*.

CHAPTER II: *The Nature of Indian Thought*

[1] See Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 181–199. For a brief analysis of the bases of conduct, see Sarma, *What is Hinduism?* The concept of Moksha is found in the Upanishads and other literature after the Rig-Vedic period.

[2] *Young India*, Sept. 11, 1924, p. 298, quoted in Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 47.

[3] For five different versions, see Sarkar, *Political Institutions and Theories*, p. 206. See also Masson-Oursel, *Ancient India*, chap. iii. Also consult T. M. P. Mahadevan's analysis in Moore, *East-West Philosophy*, pp. 317–336.

[4] Gilson, *Philosophy of Aquinas*, p. 327.

[5] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 2. For a narrower definition, see Dasgupta, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. lxxii, where Dharma is defined as mere social conformity.

[6] Sastry, *Hindu Law*, p. 87. The distinctive Jain sect established DUTY, including obedience to the king's or judge's order, as the primary precept (Jaini, *Jainism*, p. 72). The Hindu Saivas, however, viewing the world as beyond redemption tended to look with disdain upon duties, rules, and conventions (see Ayyar, *Śaivism in South India*, pp. 89–90).

[7] For a readable survey of the Hindu pantheon, consult Farquhar, *Primer of Hinduism;* Martin, *Gods of India.*

[8] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 773. Cf. the *Mahābhārata:* "The cow is like one's mother, the bull like the creator Himself." *Śāntiparvan* CCLXII. 50: Roy, *Mahābhārata*, VIII.

[9] *Nītivākyāmṛta*, quoted in Aiyar, *Indian Political Theories*, p. 12. The *Nītivākyāmṛta* (Nectar of the Maxims of Polity) of Somadevasuri is the work of a tenth-century writer. It is largely a copy of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra.* See Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 202–203.

[10] *Young India*, p. 804.

[11] Cousins, *Conversations with Nehru*, p. 16.

[12] *Web of Government*, p. 61. Regarding politics as the "master science," see the sections on Manu, Vyasa, and Sukra.

[13] Some modern Hindu positivists, however, follow the Austinian school of legal theory and contend that Dharma is itself the creation of the state, since it is obeyed only because of the coercive power of the latter. This is contrary not only to Hindu tradition but to the findings of such modern scholars as MacIver. See Sarkar, *Political Institutions and Theories*, p. 207; MacIver, *Web of Government*, pp. 73–82.

[14] See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, 3.

[15] See Aiyangar, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 5.

[16] *Arthaśāstra* XV. 1: Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 459. Bhandarkar also argues for a wider political connotation of the term *artha*—that of territory. *Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 13.

[17] Cf. *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan* LXXII: Roy, *Mahābhārata*, VII, 238.

[18] See Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 154.

[19] See Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power*, pp. 2, 86.

[20] Cf. Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 29–30.

[21] For a detailed analysis of this ceremony in its various forms, see Aiyangar, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 26–37. See also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 4. 2: Eggeling, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 94–95.

[22] See Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 508.

[23] See Rangachari, *Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra*, p. 1; Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 61.

[24] XXVIII. 16: Telang, *Anugītā*, pp. 347–348. The "twice-born" refers to the higher-caste Hindu, reborn through the rites of initiation. Jayaswal, however, contends that the basis of the king's power was popular. "The matter of constitutional powers of the king, in fact, lay beyond the province of the ritualist and the Priest. It lay in the hands of those through whose strength the king had become mighty or vested with power." *Hindu Polity*, p. 237. (See n. 43, below.)

[25] See the commentary on Kautilya. Regarding the role of the Brahman in the administration, see Aiyangar, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 47–51; Aiyar, *Indian Political Theories*, pp. 23, 29–33. Also consult Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power*.

[26] Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, pp. 72–73.

[27] See Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 90.

[28] See Sarkar, *Hindu Sociology*, II, 46–51. The famous Lichchhavi constitution provided a type of republican government for the Vajjian peoples. They are most prominently mentioned in Buddhist literature. See Law, *Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 90.

[29] *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* I. 1–5: Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 3.

[30] See Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 46–47.

[31] See Thomas, *Maurya Empire*, p. 491; Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 110–121; Masson-Oursel, *Ancient India*, p. 98. Women as the mainstay of the joint family system were not generally considered to be

fitted for political office because "on account of their natural limitations they cannot become efficient administrators." Altekar, ***Women in Hindu Civilization***, pp. 218–219. See also Majumdar, ***The Vedic Age***, pp. 512–513.

[32] Aiyar, ***Indian Legal and Social Systems***, p. 12. See also Nehru, ***Discovery of India***, pp. 245–246.

[33] Prasad, ***State in Ancient India***, p. 8. Gupta, however, characterizes the village as "a mere revenue and police division." ***Sources of Law in Ancient India***, pp. 8–14.

[34] See Sarkar, ***Democratic Ideals in India***, pp. 599–600. Article 40 of the new Indian constitution directs the state governments to organize village Panchayats. ***Constitution of India***, p. 20.

[35] I. 37: Avalon, ***Great Liberation***, p. 11.

[36] I. 1: Jolly, ***Minor Law-Books***, p. 277. Cf. ***Nārada*** I. 1. 1–3: Jolly, ***Nārada***, p. 4.

[37] See Bhandarkar, ***Ancient Hindu Polity***, pp. 127–131. Also consult Coomaraswamy, ***Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power***.

[38] ***Manu*** VII. 14: "Danda" as used here is the deification of ***daṇḍa*** (punishment).

[39] See Aiyangar, ***Rājadharmakāṇḍa***, pp. 14–17.

[40] ***Śāntiparvan*** LXVII: Roy, ***Mahābhārata***, VII, pp. 216–217.

[41] ***Aggaññasuttanta***, 20, 21: Davids, ***Dialogues***, p. 88. See also Jayaswal, ***Hindu Polity***, pp. 189–192; Bhandarkar, ***Ancient Hindu Polity***, p. 130–134.

[42] ***Arthaśāstra***, I. 13: Shamasastry, ***Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra***, pp. 22–23.

[43] See Aiyangar, ***Ancient Indian Polity***, pp. 104–107. Dr. Jayaswal's thesis of popular sovereignty is effectively refuted in detail by Ghoshal. See his ***Vedic Assemblies***, pp. 143–153. See also Mookerji, ***Men and Thought in Ancient India***, pp. 111–112.

[44] See the section on Vyasa. Though he might disregard their advice, the king was expected to consult his ministers on matters of policy. For a discussion of this phase, see Sarkar, ***Political Institutions and Theories***, pp. 176–178.

[45] ***Manu*** IX. 245, 249, 254: Buhler, ***Manu***, pp. 385–387.

[46] Cf. ***Manu*** I. 102: Buhler, ***Manu***, p. 26. See also Aiyangar, ***Rājadharmakāṇḍa***, pp. 14–17.

[47] The proper translation of the Sanskrit ***varṇa*** involves some difficulty. The term refers to the four basic divisions of Hindu society—priest, warrior, trader, laborer—rather than to the innumerable petty caste divisions which later developed along with their attendant systems of rules and restrictions.

The English word "caste" has commonly been used for *varṇa*. However, Professor S. K. Saksena of Delhi University has written me as follows: "Hindus would not accept the present English use of the word 'caste' as appropriate as they would not accept more than four classes, while the castes today are thousands. I feel that 'class' is a better term than 'caste' to express the Indian idea of 'Varna'." Some Western writers use "caste" to mean the four *varṇas* or classes, and "subcaste" to mean the innumerable subdivisions. Gandhi's comments on caste vs. subcaste may be of interest: "I regard Varna as a healthy division of work based on birth. It simply means the following on the part of us all of the hereditary calling of our forefathers. . . . I consider the four [caste] divisions alone to be fundamental, natural, and essential. The innumerable subcastes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion the better." (Bose, *Gandhi*, pp. 231–233.) In this chapter, I am referring to the main divisions only, and have employed both the terms "caste" and "class" for Sanskrit *varṇa*. For a fuller analysis of the concept of caste, consult Hutton, *Caste in India*; Rao, *Indian Caste System*. See also Senart, *Caste in India*, pp. 90–109.

[48] *Viṣṇu* III. 3: Jolly, *Vishṇu*, p. 14. The four orders represented stages of life: those of student, householder, hermit, ascetic.

[49] X. 90. 12.

[50] The laws of inheritance, for instance, were elaborately integrated with caste status. See Sandal, *Yājñavalkya Smriti*, pp. 1–49.

[51] Although Tagore thus explains the origins of the caste system, he is highly critical of its role in Modern India. See his *Nationalism*, pp. 114–117.

[52] CLXXXXII: Bose, *Harivamsha*, p. 458.

[53] *Harivaṁśa* CLXXXXII, CLXXXXIII: Bose, *Harivamsha*, pp. 459–462.

[54] See chap. viii.

[55] See chap. v. See also Prasad, *Government in Ancient India*, p. 359.

[56] See Rao, *Ancient Hindu Judicature*, pp. 1–7; Iyengar, *Hindu Law*, pp. 7–13; Law, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 117–135.

[57] See Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 513.

[58] See Prasad, *Government in Ancient India*, p. 362.

[59] See Law, *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 1–39; Sarkar, *Hindu Theory of International Relations*, pp. 400–408; Aiyangar, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 88–89.

[60] See chaps. iv and v.

[61] *Arthaśāstra* I. 6: Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 10.

[18] "A learned Brahman" is the traditional chief minister. Kautilya says, "Peace, war, neutrality, marching, alliance, and making peace with one and waging war with another are the six forms of state policy." *Arthaśāstra* VII. 1. 263: Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 293.

CHAPTER IV: *Epic Political Science: Vyasa*

[1] Professor Radhakrishnan assigns the epic period to 600 B.C.–A.D. 200. See *Indian Philosophy*, I, 271, 272. This would place the actual events described in the epics chiefly in the Vedic period.

[2] See Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, pp. 322–326; Macdonnell, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 285–287.

[3] Krishnamachariar, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 54.

[4] See Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, 478.

[5] *Ibid.* Ghoshal, however, places the *Mahābhārata* later than Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which is not earlier than the fourth century B.C. *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 76.

[6] *Indian Literature*, I, 465.

[7] Other books of the *Mahābhārata* also contain "Machiavellian" passages. Thus in the *Ādiparvan* (CXLII. 5. 88): "Unpitying and sharp, concealed in their leathern cases, striking when opportunity comes, sweeping off all hair, kings should resemble razors in the matter of destroying their enemies." Dutt, *Mahābhārata* (*Ādiparvan*), p. 207.

[8] See Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 160–212.

[9] See Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 27.

[10] Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 173. The following *Śāntiparvan* passages have been used in the selections in this volume: chaps. XC, XCI, XCII, XCIII, XCIV, and CXL. These comprise Vol. VII, pp. 290–304 and 460–467 in Roy's translation.

[11] The Asuras are gods in the earliest Vedic literature, but are later considered as evil spirits. In the Rig-Veda the term is sometimes applied also to the enemies of the gods.

[12] The *muni* is a religious ascetic or sage.

[13] In this and the following sentences the king is addressed directly by the writer.

[14] Here we see the traditional emphasis upon the necessity for royal advisers, especially the chief Brahman. The purpose, however, is to insure the king's respect for the rules of the Dharma rather than to provide for popular control of government as some have averred.

[15] Cf. Confucius: "The moral character of those in high position is the breeze, the character of those below is the grass. When the grass has the breeze upon it, it assuredly bends." *Analects* XII. 19: Soothill, *Analects*, p. 124.

[16] The king is here cautioned against riding unruly horses and elephants. As these notes are being written, news accounts tell of the death (March 22, 1952) of Prime Minister Senanayake of Ceylon as a result of head injuries suffered in a fall from a bolting horse.

[17] That is, with great deliberation and patience—as the crane calmly waits for the fish.

[18] In the international field this is expressed in the *maṇḍala* theory. See chap. v.

[19] Cf. Machiavelli: "A prince being thus obliged to know well how to act as a beast must imitate the fox and the lion." *The Prince* XVIII: *The Prince and the Discourses*, p. 64.

[20] The last warning emphasizes that Vyasa does not counsel such ruthlessness in normal times. But it is difficult to see how an ambitious ruler would draw a clear line between normality and emergency. Presumably the Brahman advisers would exercise the restraining influence.

CHAPTER V: *The Art of Politics: Kautilya*

[1] At Tanjore in South India.

[2] See Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 34–36.

[3] In vol. 37 of the *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* of Mysore. He began publishing a tentative translation in the *Indian Antiquary* as early as 1905. Among the better-known studies in English on Kautilya are: Law, *Ancient Hindu Polity;* Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity;* Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity.* Meyer's German translation is now considered to be the most accurate rendering of the Sanskrit text in any Western language. (Johann Jakob Meyer, *Das Altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, des Arthaçastra des Kautilya.* Leipzig, 1926.)

[4] Keith and other Western scholars, however, reject Chanakya as the actual author for various reasons: There is no reference in the work to events which occurred in Chandragupta's empire; China is mentioned by the name associated with that country only since the Chin conquest, 221 B.C.; there is no mention in the Puranas of Kautilya as an author, etc. See Keith, *Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 458–462; Bhandarkar, *Ancient Hindu Polity,* pp. 36–55; Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity,* pp. 149–152. For vigorous support of Kautilya as author, see Dikshitar, *Bhasa and Kauṭalya,* pp. 165–168.

[5] See Grierson, *Test of a Man*, pp. 88–94.

[6] See Havell, *Aryan Rule*, p. 67. Also consult Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity.*

[7] See Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 120–121.

[8] See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 10.

[9] Gilbert, *Machiavelli*, p. 4.

[10] See Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 59.

[11] Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 42.

[12] See Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 125.

[13] See Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. xvi. He gives priority to the *extant* version of Kautilya as against the *extant* version of Manu. See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 125.

[14] For a summary discussion of this chronology, see Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, vi, vii.

[15] See Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 455.

[16] *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 35.

[17] Selections for this volume have been taken from the following passages of the *Arthaśāstra:* Bk. I, chaps. 10, 11; Bk. II, chap. 9; Bk. VII, chaps. 1, 2, 3. These comprise pages 15–19, 68–70, 293–294, 296–298 in Shamasastry's translation (3d ed.).

[18] The priest is, of course, a secret agent of the king. The former is made to appear in royal disfavor for having disobeyed the king's orders, which run contrary to caste restrictions. There follows a series of suggestions as to other suitable secret agents.

[19] Such holy men were reputed to be capable of extended fasts for purification and penance.

[20] Correlation of forecasts and government action was to make the fraud convincing and increase the usefulness of the spy. In major matters, however, the "prophet" was presumably given advanced "tips" as to action forthcoming. In minor details the king could afford to follow the "predictions" of his agent.

[21] Cf. Machiavelli: "A prince ought never to make common cause with one more powerful than himself to injure another, unless necessity forces him to it." *The Prince* XXI: see *The Prince and The Discourses*, p. 84.

CHAPTER VI: *Medieval Statesmanship: Sukra*

[1] *Śukranīti* IV. 7. 855–856: Sarkar, *Śukranīti*, p. 260.

[2] See Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 486.

[3] See Sarkar, *Śukranīti*, p. 2; Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 80. Ghoshal ranks it with Kamandaka as one of the two most popular textbooks on political science in all Hindu literature.

[4] See *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan* CCXC. 32: Roy, *Mahābhārata*, V, 8. See also Buhler, *Sacred Laws*, I, xlv; Oppert, *Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 34–36; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, 116.

[5] Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 464; Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 209. Kamandaka wrote after Kautilya and drew heavily upon the latter's work.

[6] *Śukranīti* IV. 7. 389–394: Sarkar, *Śukranīti*, p. 236. See also Oppert's translation in *Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 106–108. He argues that ancient India was the original home of gunpowder and firearms (pp. 58–82).

[7] Sarkar, however, suggests that the references to guns and gunpowder are later interpolations on an earlier text. *Śukranīti*, p. 236. For Sarkar's detailed analysis of the problem of Sukra chronology, see his *Hindu Sociology*, Bk. II, pp. 63–71. See also Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 10–11.

[8] *State in Ancient India*, p. 486.

[9] Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 245.

[10] Selections from the following passages of the *Śukranīti* have been used in this volume: Parts of chap. i, comprising pp. 1–53 in Sarkar's translation.

[11] *Nīti* is the science of public policy or what today we would term political science in the broader sense. This and the following paragraph stress the supreme value of this discipline to the ruler.

[12] The preceding analysis of the caste system reveals the liberal nature of Sukra's thought. The important point here is that persons are given caste or class status in terms of their actual work and individual character and ability, rather than by birth. In a basic sense, however, this is not inconsistent with traditional Hindu principles, for we find a similar viewpoint in *Manu* (XII. 114): "Even if thousands of Brahmans who . . . are unacquainted with the Veda . . . meet, they cannot form a [judicial] assembly." Buhler, *Manu*, pp. 510–511.

[13] The *Mlechchhas* are the outcastes or barbarians.

[14] Cf. Manu's four *sthāna* (chap. iii, n. 17).

[15] The *viṣāyas* are sense desires which, according to Sukra, turn to poison when fulfilled. This paragraph is a vivid expression of a thesis common to Hindu Shastras. Cf. Plato: "Which is in the truest sense inferior, the man who is overcome by pleasure or by pain?"

[16] King Nala is featured in one of the episodes of the *Mahābhārata*. He staked all his possessions, including his clothes on the dice—and lost. Yudhisthira was the eldest of the five brothers of the *Mahābhārata*. He too lost everything on the dice—his kingdom, wife, and brothers.

[17] These subjects—and those at the end of this paragraph and the beginning of the next—suggest the normal field of activity of the Hindu state. They will be recognized as typical items of administration in most states.

[18] These dietary precepts are traditional in Hindu medicine. Although based on different premises, they may be compared to modern regulations governing a "balanced diet." We find in these and the following passages an amusing jumble of advice to the ruler ranging from personal hygiene to high-level statesmanship. But it must be remembered that, to the Hindu theorist, personal fitness and morality were inseparable from successful administration.

[19] That is, with the White Umbrellas of sovereignty.

[20] In other words, the royal bodyguard.

[21] We have seen in the preceding passages a repeated insistence on personal morality for the head of the state. Here we have the second safeguard against the abuse of the ruling power, namely, respect for public opinion.

CHAPTER VII: *The Indian Renaissance*

[1] This is not in any sense to deny the importance of Moslem contributions to Indian life in such fields as historiography, and the role of Sikhism and other movements, such as that of Kabir, arising directly or indirectly out of the Mohammedan impact. For a concise survey of the effects of Moslem culture on modern Indian civilization, see Abdul Qadir's "The Cultural Influences of Islam," in Garratt, *Legacy of India*, pp. 287–304. For a picture of Moslem achievements under the able rule of Akbar (1542–1605), see Nehru, *Discovery of India*, pp. 254–268; Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 447–462.

[2] See Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 209, 247–263; Prasad, *Government in Ancient India*, p. 245.

[3] See Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 60–70; Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 812–828.

[4] See Moreland and Chatterjee, *History of India*, pp. 342–344.

[5] See Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 816–821; Rawlinson, *India*, pp. 408–409; Nehru, *Discovery of India*, pp. 317–318.

[6] Majumdar, *Political Thought*, pp. 390–392.

[7] See Nehru, *Discovery of India*, pp. 317–319; Ragozin, *Vedic India*, pp. 77–102.

[8] The Christian missionaries contributed to the intellectual revival of the period, and those at Serampore are credited with the founding of Indian journalism. Moreland and Chatterjee, *History of India*, pp. 341–342. For an account of the first university, see Seshadri, *Universities of India*, p. 31.

[9] Gandhi was a native of Kathiawar in western India.

[10] Brahmo Samaj—signifying, "Society of God."

[11] See Majumdar, *Political Thought*, pp. 1–77; Nehru, *Discovery of India*, pp. 315–317.

[12] Majumdar, *Political Thought*, p. 78–80; see also Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, pp. 59–60.

[13] *Renaissance of Hinduism*, p. 71.

[14] Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 90–91. See also Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 812–815.

[15] See Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 117–163. Gokhale, too, was a Chitpawan Brahman from western India. Gandhi has said of him: "In the sphere of politics the place that Gokhale occupied in my heart during his lifetime and occupies even now was and is absolutely unique." *Autobiography*, p. 221.

[16] Dayananda was the son of an orthodox Brahman of Gandhi's native Kathiawar. Arya Samaj denotes "Aryan Society" or, by connotation, a religious society of traditional India. The name thus emphasized that the new organization stood for Indian as against "foreign" principles.

[17] Dayananda's beliefs are best expressed in his major work the *Satyartha Prakāśa*. This has been translated by C. Bharadwaja under the title *The Light of Truth* (published by the Arya Samaj, Madras, 1932). A brief English summary is contained in Prasad's *Beliefs of Swami Dayanand Saraswati*.

[18] See Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 164–193; Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 883–884.

[19] See Nehru, *Toward Freedom*, pp. 35, 85. On hearing of Tilak's death, Gandhi exclaimed, "My strongest bulwark is gone." *Autobiography*, p. 611.

[20] Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, p. 210. Note that Sarma, however, traces the new universalism to the Upanishads.

[21] Cf. Das, *India—Past, Present, and Future*, p. 296. Aurobindo Ghose sees three stages of the Indian Renaissance: the reception of European contacts, Indian reaction against European influence, and transmutation or Indianization of the new elements. *Renaissance in India*, pp. 32–33.

CHAPTER VIII: *The Ruling Class: Vivekananda*

[1] For a complete biography, consult Yogeshwarananda, *Life of Swami Vivekananda.* Many personal details can be found in letters and other writings compiled in his *Complete Works.* See also Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism,* pp. 257–263. For the text of his famous Chicago speech in 1893, see Barrows, *World's Parliament,* pp. 968–978. For his national contributions, see Bannerjea, *India's Nation Builders,* pp. 128–145.

[2] *Harivaṁśa* CLXXXXII: Bose, *Harivamsha,* pp. 458–459. Although the *Harivaṁśa* is sometimes considered part of the *Mahābhārata,* it is essentially an appendix to it. Winternitz, *Indian Literature,* I, 443.

[3] Vivekananda wrote to Herbert Spencer at the time, criticizing some of his theories, and received a note in reply.

[4] Yogeshwarananda, *Life of Swami Vivekananda,* p. 7.

[5] *Toward Freedom,* p. 270. The passages which follow have been selected from *Modern India,* pp. 12–43, a translation of a contribution by Vivekananda to the Bengali periodical *Udbodhana* of March, 1899. The basic thesis of this essay was propounded three years earlier by Vivekananda in a letter to Mary Hale. This has been published in his *Inspired Talks* (pp. 297-298). A facsimile of the original letter at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, New York City, shows that it was written in London, 1896. This happens to be the year in which Gaetano Mosca published his famous *Elementi di Scienza Politica,* expounding in its completest form his own theory of cycles among the ruling classes—especially in Europe.

[6] In this context, Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas refer to the three modes or facets of human nature according to Hindu psychology. As used here, Sattva represents virtue or intelligence; Raja, courage or passion; and Tamas, laziness or stupidity. The higher castes are considered as having more of Sattva and less of Tamas than the lower castes.

[7] Vena was a descendant of Manu who offended the gods by insisting that religious sacrifices be dedicated to himself alone. The Puranas give various accounts of his misconduct and punishment. Cf. *Harivaṁśa* II: Bose, *Hari vamsha,* pp. 4–6.

[8] "Maya" is a profound concept in Hindu philosophy. As used here, it represents a principle responsible for the creation of the phenomenal world and its attendant problems.

[9] This was the Gupta political system (A.D. 320–647), with the capital at Pataliputra—the modern Patna. Gupta rule was a "golden age" for India.

[10] For Moksha as the goal of life, see chap. ii.

[11] The pariah is a member of a low subcaste of South India. The term is sometimes used to designate any despised person of lowest status.

CHAPTER IX: *The True Freedom: Tagore*

[1] See Das, *Tagore*, pp. 3–8; Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 341–402; Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, pp. 1–22.

[2] See Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, pp. 26–27; Das, *Tagore*, pp. 28–31.

[3] From Tagore's address on Ram Mohan Roy, quoted in Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, pp. 21–22.

[4] Chaitanya and Kabir were fifteenth-century religious reformers who preached doctrines synthesizing Hindu and Moslem creeds. See Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, 670, 760.

[5] Regarding the university at Santiniketan, see Ray, *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, pp. 7–8.

[6] *Creative Unity*, pp. 131–132. This attitude was characteristic of Tagore and no doubt invoked such a tribute as the following from Nehru: "I wish to pay my deep homage to one who has been as a beacon light to all of us, ever pointing to the finer and nobler aspects of life and never allowing us to fall into the ruts which kill individuals as well as nations." Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, p. i. The selection which follows is taken from an essay entitled "Nationalism in India," comprising pp. 115–155 in Tagore's *Nationalism.*

[7] See above, n. 4. Nanak was the founder of the Sikh religion.

[8] The Indian National Congress is the present ruling political party in India's Parliament.

[9] See, however, above, chap. vi, n. 12.

CHAPTER X: *Government and Man: Aurobindo*

[1] "Salutation to Aravinda Ghose," quoted in Sen, *Political Thought of Tagore*, p. 28. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, formerly of Calcutta University, who served as Tagore's secretary, has advised me that Tagore, in all probability, was unaware of Ghose's secret political activities at this period and the tribute was therefore in reference to his literary achievements.

[2] See Nikhilananda, *Sri Aurobindo*, pp. 91–92; Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 308–312.

NOTES

[3] He is referred to in India and elsewhere as Sri Aurobindo. *Śrī* may be translated as "mister," but is considered a title of respect—"illustrious."

[4] Nikhilananda, *Sri Aurobindo*, p. 92.

[5] For his detailed message to Andhra University on this last problem, see the *Hindu* (Madras), Dec. 12, 1948. The recently approved plan for the creation of a new Telugu-speaking state out of northern Madras State shows that this movement, which Ghose supported, has borne fruit. Linguistic provinces, however, have been generally discouraged by the Indian government as a possible threat to national unity.

[6] The Rig-Veda is a collection of religious hymns and is the earliest creation of Indian literature. The Upanishads are speculative works created at the end of the Vedic period and give philosophic expression to Vedic ideas. The *Bhagavad Gītā* is a part of the epic *Mahābhārata*. It is the most popular poem of Sanskrit literature and considered by Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, I, 519–522) as the most influential work in Indian thought.

[7] Indian Government, *India News Bulletin*, Dec. 18, 1950, p. 7. The material in the following essay has been taken from Ghose, *The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity*, pp. 62–91.

[8] The East Indies or Indonesia.

[9] The Peshwas were eighteenth-century rulers in the Maratha political system with its capital at Poona in western India.

[10] The Rishis are sages or seers.

[11] The *kula* refers to the Indian joint family system.

[12] See above, n. 9.

[13] It was following this bloody war in the third century B.C. that Asoka renounced military conquest and devoted himself to promulgating the Buddhist doctrines of noninjury.

[14] That is, the British East India Company.

[15] Vijayanagara was destroyed in 1565, and the Marathas rose under their leader Shivaji in the seventeenth century.

[16] The Rajputs were a valiant military group who resisted the invaders for centuries from strongholds in Rajputana, in the desert region of northwest India.

[17] The Sikh Khalsa or "Elect"—a military order like the Knight Templars of the Middle Ages in Europe. See Rawlinson, *India*, pp. 379–381.

[18] Singh was the great Sikh leader involved with the British in the Afghan war of 1838. Fadnavis (Farnavis) was the astute "Indian Machiavelli" of the Maratha government. His death in 1800 marks the decline of the Maratha

power. Scindia (Sindia) was another able Maratha leader, who came to power after the battle of Panipat in 1761. For an account of this period and its leaders, see Majumdar, *History of India*, pp. 729–771; Rawlinson, *India*, pp. 377–398.

[19] *Yuga-saṁdhyā:* meaning "twilight age," but, as used here, signifies the dawning of a new age.

[20] Shakti means "power" and is a profound and widespread concept in Indian philosophy. There are various Shakti sects in India which worship feminine energy as the highest element. As used here by Ghose, the term is personified as a goddess representing the creative forces of the universe.

CHAPTER XI: *Nonviolence as Political Power: Gandhi*

[1] Gandhi is placed last in this analysis, after Aurobindo Ghose, although by strict chronology, Ghose was the younger. Because of Aurobindo's retirement, however, Gandhi's political activities continue for a much longer time, and his writings included here are more recent than the selections from Ghose.

[2] See Andrews, *Gandhi*, pp. 13–17.

[3] For the full story, see his *Autobiography*, pp. 1–452. Regarding his involvement in politics, see *Young India*, p. 568.

[4] Consult Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*. See also Jones, *Mahatma Gandhi*, pp. 82–107.

[5] For an estimate of Gandhi's impression on his countrymen at this time, see Kripalani, *Gandhi the Statesman*, pp. 6–22. For a picture of his activities, consult Prasad, *Satyagraha in Champaran*.

[6] For a firsthand Indian impression of General Dyer, the British commanding officer, and the whole Amritsar tragedy, see Nehru, *Toward Freedom*, pp. 49–51.

[7] See his *Autobiography*, p. 90. He considered the last nineteen verses of the *Gītā* the key to his philosophy.

[8] See his *Autobiography*, p. 48.

[9] *Mokṣadharmaparvan* CCLXVI. 6.

[10] For his debt to Tilak and Gokhale, see above, chap. vii. Regarding Thoreau, see n. 11 below and n. 20 below. Gandhi also acknowledges many other influences, including the New Testament. For a survey of the sources of Gandhi's ideas, see Dhawan, *Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, pp. 7–12. See also Radhakrishnan, *Great Indians*, pp. 19–61.

[11] Satyagraha cannot properly be translated in a brief sketch. Gandhi defines it as follows in *Young India* (pp. 222–223): "Satyagraha, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the nonviolent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak. . . . Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. . . . Noncoöperation, too, like Civil Disobedience is a branch of Satyagraha which includes all nonviolent resistance for the vindication of Truth."

[12] Consult Rao, *Philosophy of Ahiṁsā;* see also Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, pp. 582.

[13] Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, pp. xi, xii. The Gandhi material which follows has been taken from *Young India 1919–1922*, edited by Rajendra Prasad, pp. 226, 227, 231, 232, 233, 259, 260, 285, 286, and also from *Selections from Gandhi*, edited by N. K. Bose, pp. 6, 37, 41, 42, 109, 110, 113, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 153, 154, 155, 157, 159, 162. Gandhi's writings are less "systematic" than those of the other authors in this volume. In attempting to edit them around consistent themes it has been necessary to piece together passages varying in time and source. There is always the risk in so doing that statements will be placed out of context. The hazard, however, is here minimized since my purpose is to select "timeless" rather than "dated" materials. I am more concerned with his broad principles than his opinions on passing issues. From this standpoint I believe the writings as presented are representative and fairly chosen.

[14] Harischandra was a celebrated king of ancient Indian legend. There are accounts of him in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*. These tell how he offered his kingdom and wealth as a sacrificial gift and of his subsequent ordeals.

[15] Swaraj generally means political independence or self-government. For Gandhi's comments on Swaraj, see *Young India*, pp. 819–890.

[16] First World War.

[17] See n. 6 above.

[18] Mahavira or Vardhamana (599–526 B.C.) was the founder of the Jain religion and a contemporary of Buddha. See Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, 286–291.

[19] Arjuna is the heroic warrior of a battle discussed in the *Gītā*, and "Duryodhana and the other Kauravas" are his enemies.

[20] Cf. Thoreau: "A right man is a majority of one." See Diwakar, *Satyagraha*, p. 9.

CHAPTER XII: *The White Umbrella*

[1] The umbrella also symbolizes religious authority and is used with persons of high spiritual attainment, such as the heads of the great religious centers founded by the Hindu leaders Sankara and Ramanuja. The author has seen the umbrella employed in ceremonial processions in India. This varied use illustrates the ultimate common basis of spiritual and temporal authority in the Indian tradition. The umbrella symbol is of very great antiquity and is found in many Middle East and Far East areas. It appears in stylized form in Buddhist architecture—above the great Stupas. It was carried into Malaya and Indonesia by the South Indian Tamils, whose influence begins at least as early as the second century. In the great States which developed in these areas, the elaborate court procedure of the Hindus was established—including the insignia of the Royal Umbrella. Even the later Mohammedan sultans retained the earlier procedures and symbols, which are in use in some areas to this day. In Malaya and Indonesia, however, the official umbrella may be of various colors, including yellow. In India itself the Umbrella symbol was used in comparatively recent times notably by Shivaji, leader of the great seventeenth-century Maratha empire in western India. He proclaimed himself after the coronation ceremony as *cchattrapati* or "Lord of the Umbrella."

[2] The reader will recognize these passages as excerpts, in some instances reëdited, from the preceding selections from Manu, Vivekananda, Vyasa, Tagore, Ghose, Sukra, and Gandhi. The Kautilya excerpt, however, is from *Arthaśāstra* I. 3. 8. (Shamasastry, p. 7.)

[3] For a *Mahābhārata* source of Gandhi's remarks, see Muzumdar, *Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 3. For Nehru's comments on this theme, see *Nehru on Gandhi*, pp. 28–29.

[4] Consult Sarkar, *Political Institutions and Theories;* and his *Hindu Sociology.*

[5] See chap. ii

[6] These are, however, the influences of Hindu tradition here—notably in the encouragement given to village Panchayats or local governing councils, and, according to Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, in the preamble itself.

[7] Gledhill, *Republic of India*, pp. 12–13.

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